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CONTENTS

OF THE

THIRD VOLUME.

The Great Caſe of Liberty of Conſcience debated and defended by the Authority of Reaſon, Scripture, and Antiquity — — Page 1

A ſeaſonable Caveat againſt Popery; or, a Pamphlet, entitled, An Explanation of the Roman Catholick Belief, briefly examined — — Page 53

The Propoſed Comprehenſion, ſoberly, and not unſeaſonably, conſidered — — Page 93

A Letter to the Council and Senate of Embden Page 99

Wiſdom juſtified of her Children, from the Ignorance and Calumny of H. Hallywell, in his Book, called, An Account of Familiſm, as it is revived and propagated by the Quakers — — Page 107

England's Preſent Intereſt conſidered, with Honour to the Prince, and Safety to the People, in Anſwer to this one Queſtion, What is moſt fit, eaſy, and ſafe, at this Juncture of Affairs, to be done, for quieting of Differences, allaying the Heat of contrary Intereſts, and making them ſubſervient to the Intereſt of the Government, and conſiſtent with the Proſperity of this Kingdom — — Page 197

A Let-

CONTENTS.

A Letter to the Princeſs and Counteſs at Hertford, in Germany — — Page 267

A Summons or Call to Chriſtendom: in an earneſt Expoſtulation with her to prepare for that notable Day of the Lord, that is at the Door Page 289

Tender Advice and Counſel, by Way of Epiſtle, to all thoſe who are ſenſible of the Day of their Viſitation, and who have received the Call of the Lord, by the Light and Spirit of his Son in their Hearts, to partake of the great Salvation, wherever ſcattered throughout the World — — Page 313

Travels in Holland and Germany — Page 373

THE

THE GREAT CASE OF LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE

Once more briefly debated and defended,

BY THE AUTHORITY OF

REASON, SCRIPTURE, and ANTIQUITY:

Which may ſerve the Place of a General Reply to ſuch late DISCOURSES as have oppoſed a TOLERATION.

The Author WILLIAM PENN.

Whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do to you, do ye even ſo to them. Mat. vii. 12.

Render unto Cæſar the things that are Cæſar's, and to God, the things that are God's. Mark xii. 17.

TO THE SUPREME AUTHORITY OF ENGLAND.

TOLERATION, for theſe ten years paſt, has not been more the cry of ſome, than perſecution has been the practice of others, though not on grounds equally rational.

The preſent cauſe of this addreſs, is to ſolicit a converſion of that power to our relief, which hitherto has been employed to our depreſſion; that after this large experience of our innocency, and long ſince expired apprenticeſhip of cruel ſufferings, you will be pleaſed to cancel all our bonds, and give us a poſſeſſion of thoſe freedoms, to which we are intituled by Engliſh birth-right.

This has been often promiſed to us, and we as earneſtly have expected the performance; but to this time we labour under the unſpeakable preſſure of naſty priſons, and daily confiſcation of our goods, to the apparent ruin of intire families.

We would not attribute the whole of this ſeverity to malice, ſince not a little ſhare may juſtly be aſcribed to miſ-intelligence.

For it is the infelicity of governors to ſee and hear by the eyes and ears of other men; which is equally unhappy for the people.

And we are bold to ſay, that ſuppoſitions, and mere conjectures, have been the beſt meaſures that moſt have taken of us, and of our principles; for whilſt there have been none more inoffenſive, we have been marked for capital offenders.

It is hard that we ſhould always lie under this undeſerved imputation; and, which is worſe, be perſecuted as ſuch, without the liberty of a juſt defence.

In ſhort, if you are apprehenſive that our principles are inconſiſtent with the civil government, grant us a free conference about the points in queſtion, and let us know what are thoſe laws, eſſential to preſervation, that our opinions carry an oppoſition to? And if upon a due enquiry we are found ſo heterdox as repreſented, it will be then but time enough to inflict theſe heavy penalties upon us.

And as this medium ſeems the faireſt, and moſt reaſonable; ſo can you never do yourſelves greater juſtice, either in the vindication of your proceedings againſt us, if we be criminal; or if innocent, in diſengaging your ſervice of ſuch as have been authors of ſo much miſ-information.

But could we once obtain the favour of ſuch debate, we doubt not to evince a clear conſiſtency of our life and doctrine with the Engliſh government; and that an indulging of Diſſenters in the ſenſe defended, is not only moſt Chriſtian and rational, but prudent alſo; and the contrary (how plauſible ſoever inſinuated) the moſt injurious to the peace, and deſtructive of that diſcreet balance, which the beſt and wiſeſt ſtates have ever carefully obſerved.

But if this fair and equal offer find not a place with you, on which to reſt its foot; much leſs that it ſhould bring us back the olive-branch of TOLERATION; we heartily embrace and bleſs the providence of God; and, in his ſtrength, reſolve by patience to outweary perſecution, and by our conſtant ſufferings ſeek to obtain a victory, more glorious than any our adverſaries can atchieve by all their cruelties.

VINCIT QUI PATITUR.

From a priſoner for conſcience ſake,

W. P.

Newgate, the 7th of the 12th month, called February, 1670.

THE

THE PREFACE.

WERE ſome as Chriſtian as they boaſt themſelves to be, it would ſave us all the labour we beſtow in rendering Perſecution ſo unchriſtian as it moſt truly is. Nay, were they thoſe men of reaſon they character themſelves, and what the civil law ſtiles good citizens, it had been needleſs for us to tell them, that neither can any external coercive power convince the underſtanding of the pooreſt ideot, nor fines and priſons be judged fit and adequate penalties for faults purely intellectual; as well as that they are deſtructive of all civil government.

But we need not run ſo far as beyond the ſeas, to fetch the ſenſe of the Codes, Inſtitutes, and Digeſts, out of the *Corpus Civile*, to adjudge ſuch practices incongruous with the good of civil ſociety; ſince our own good, old, admirable laws of England have made ſuch excellent proviſion for its inhabitants, that if they were but thought as fit to be executed by this preſent age, as they were rightly judged neceſſary to be made by our careful anceſtors, we know how great a ſtroke they would give ſuch as venture to lead away our property in triumph (as our juſt forfeiture) for only worſhipping our God in a differing way from that which is more generally profeſſed and eſtabliſhed.

And indeed it is moſt truly lamentable, that above others (who have been found in ſo unnatural and anti-

chriſtian an employment) thoſe that by their own frequent practices, and voluminous apologies, have defended a ſeparation from the Papacy, ſhould now become ſuch earneſt perſecutors for it; not conſidering, that the enaction of ſuch laws as reſtrain perſons from the free exerciſe of their conſciences in matters of religion, is but a knotting whip-cord to laſh their own poſterity; whom they can never promiſe to be conformed to a National Religion. Nay, ſince mankind is ſubject to ſuch mutability, they cannot enſure themſelves from being taken by ſome perſuaſions that are eſteemed heterodox, and conſequently catch themſelves in ſnares of their own providing. And for men thus liable to change, and no ways certain of their own belief to be the moſt infallible, as by their multiplied conceſſions may appear, to enact any religion, or prohibit perſons from the free exerciſe of theirs, ſounds harſh in the ears of all modeſt and unbiaſſed men. We are bold to ſay, our Proteſtant anceſtors thought of nothing leſs, than to be ſucceeded by perſons vainglorious of their Reformation, and yet adverſaries to Liberty of Conſcience: For to people in their wits it ſeems a paradox.

Not that we are ſo ignorant, as to think it is within the reach of human power to fetter conſcience, or to reſtrain its liberty, ſtrictly taken: but that plain Engliſh, of Liberty of Conſcience, we would be underſtood to mean, is this; namely, 'The free and uninterrupted exerciſe of our conſciences, in that way of worſhip we are moſt clearly perſuaded God requires us to ſerve him in, without endangering our undoubted birth-right of Engliſh freedoms:' Which being matter of FAITH, we ſin if we omit; and they cannot do leſs, that ſhall endeavour it.

To tell us we are obſtinate, and enemies to government, are but thoſe groundleſs phraſes the firſt reformers were not a little peſtered with: but as they ſaid, ſo ſay we, The being called this, or that, does not conclude us ſo: and hitherto we have not been detected

tected of that fact, which only juſtifies ſuch criminations.

But however free we can approve ourſelves of actions prejudicial to the civil government; it is moſt certain we have not ſuffered a little, as criminals, and therefore have been far from being free from ſufferings; indeed, in ſome reſpect, horrid plunders: widows have loſt their cows, orphans their beds, and labourers their tools. A tragedy ſo ſad, that methinks it ſhould oblige them to do in England as they did at Athens: when they had ſacrificed their divine Socrates to the ſottiſh fury of their lewd and comical multitude, they ſo regretted their haſty murder, that not only the memorial of Socrates was moſt venerable with them, but his enemies they eſteemed ſo much theirs, that none would trade or hold the leaſt commerce with them; for which ſome turned their own executioners, and without any other warrant than their own guilt, hanged themſelves. How near a-kin the wretched mercenary informers of our age are to thoſe, the great reſemblance that is betwixt their actions manifeſtly ſhews.

And we are bold to ſay, the grand fomentors of perſecution are no better friends to the Engliſh ſtate, than were Anytus and Ariſtophanes of old to that of Athens; the caſe being ſo nearly the ſame, as they did not more bitterly envy the reputation of Socrates amongſt the Athenians for his grave and religious lectures (thereby giving the youth a diverſion from frequenting their plays) than ſome now emulate the true diſſenter, for his pious life, and great induſtry.

And as that famous common-wealth was noted to decline, and the moſt obſerving perſons of it dated its decay from that illegal and ingrateful carriage towards Socrates (witneſs their dreadful plagues, with other multiplied diſaſters) ſo it is not leſs worthy obſervation, that heaven hath not been wholly wanting to ſcourge this land, for, as well their cruelty to the conſcientious, as their other multiplied provocations.

And when we ſeriouſly conſider the dreadful judgments that now impend the nation (by reaſon of the robbery, violence, unwonted oppreſſion, that almoſt every-where have not only been committed upon the poor, the widow, and the fatherleſs; but moſt tenaciouſly juſtified, and the actors manifeſtly encouraged) in mere pity and concern for the everlaſting welfare of ſuch as have not quite ſinned away their viſitation (for ſome have) we once more bring to public view our reaſons againſt perſecution, backed with the plaineſt inſtances both of Scripture and Antiquity; if but one may be perſuaded to deſiſt from making any farther progreſs in ſuch an anti-proteſtant, and truly anti-chriſtian path, as that of perſecuting honeſt and virtuous Engliſhmen, for only worſhipping the God that made them in the way they judge moſt acceptable with him.

But if thoſe who ought to think themſelves obliged to weigh theſe affairs with the greateſt deliberation, will obſtinately cloſe their eyes to theſe laſt remonſtrances, and ſlightly over-look the pinching caſe of ſo many thouſand families, that are by theſe ſeverities expoſed for prey to the unſatiable appetites of a villainous crew of broken informers, daubing themſelves with that deluding apprehenſion of pleaſing God, or at leaſt of profiting the country; (whilſt they greatly diſpleaſe the one, and evidently ruin the other) as certain as ever the Lord God Almighty deſtroyed Sodom, and layed waſte Gomorrah, by the conſuming flames of his juſt indignation, will he haſten to make deſolate this wanton land, and not leave an hiding-place for the oppreſſor.

Let no man therefore think himſelf too big to be admoniſhed, nor put too ſlight a value upon the Lives, Liberties, and Properties of ſo many thouſand free-born Engliſh families, embarked in that one concern of Liberty of Conſcience. It will become him better to reflect upon his own mortality, and not forget his breath is in his noſtrils, and that every action of his life the everlaſting God will bring to judgment, and him for them.

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

That impoſition, reſtraint, and perſecution for conſcience ſake, highly invade the Divine prerogative, and diveſt the Almighty of a right, due to none beſides himſelf, and that in five eminent particulars.

THE great caſe of Liberty of Conſcience, ſo often debated and defended (however diſſatisfactorily to ſuch as have ſo little conſcience as to perſecute for it) is once more brought to publick view, by a late act againſt Diſſenters, and Bill, or an additional one, that we all hoped the wiſdom of our rulers had long ſince laid aſide, as what was fitter to be paſſed into an act of perpetual oblivion. The kingdoms are alarmed at this procedure, and thouſands greatly at a ſtand, wondering what ſhould be the meaning of ſuch haſty reſolutions, that ſeem as fatal as they were unexpected. Some aſk what wrong they have done? others, what peace they have broken? and all, what plots they have formed to prejudice the preſent government, or occaſions given to hatch new jealouſies of them and their proceedings? being not conſcious to themſelves of guilt in any ſuch reſpect.

For mine own part, I publickly confeſs myſelf to be a very hearty Diſſenter from the eſtabliſhed worſhip of theſe nations, as believing Proteſtants to have much degenerated from their firſt principles, and as owning the poor deſpiſed Quakers, in life and doctrine, to have eſpouſed the cauſe of God, and to be the undoubted followers of Jeſus Chriſt, in his moſt holy, ſtrait, and narrow way, that leads to the eternal reſt. In all which I know no treaſon, nor any principle that would urge me to a thought injurious to the civil peace. If any be defective in this particular, it is equal both individuals and whole ſocieties ſhould anſwer for their own defaults; but we are clear.

However, all conclude that union very ominous and unhappy, which makes the firſt diſcovery of itſelf "by

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"a John Baptiſt's head in a charger." They mean that feaſt which ſome are deſigned to make upon the liberties and properties of free-born Engliſhmen: Since to have the entail of thoſe undoubted hereditary rights cut off, for matters purely relative of another world, is a ſevere beheading in the law: which muſt be obvious to all, but ſuch as meaſure the juſtice of things only, by that proportion they bear with their own intereſt. A ſort of men that ſeek themſelves, though at the apparent loſs of whole ſocieties; like to that barbarous fancy of old, which had rather that Rome ſhould burn, than it be without the ſatisfaction of a bon-fire. And ſad it is, when men have ſo far ſtupefied their underſtandings with the ſtrong doſes of their private intereſt, as to become inſenſible of the public's. Certainly ſuch an over-fondneſs for ſelf, or that ſtrong inclination to raiſe themſelves in the ruin of what does not ſo much oppoſe them, as that they will believe ſo, becauſe they would be perſecuting, is a malignant enemy to that tranquillity, which all diſſenting parties ſeem to believe would be the conſequence of a toleration.

In ſhort we ſay, there can be but two ends in perſecution; the one to ſatisfy (which none can ever do) the inſatiable appetites of a decimating clergy (whoſe beſt arguments are fines and impriſonments); and the other, as thinking therein they do God good ſervice: but it is ſo hateful a thing upon any account, that we ſhall make it appear, by this enſuing diſcourſe, to be a declared enemy to God, religion, and the good of human ſociety.

The whole will be ſmall, ſince it is but an epitome of no larger a tract than fourteen ſheets; yet divides itſelf into the ſame particulars, every of which we ſhall defend againſt impoſition, reſtraint, and perſecution, though not with that ſcope of reaſon (nor conſequently pleaſure to the readers) being by other contingent diſappointments limited to a narrow ſtint.

The

The terms explained, and the queſtion ſtated.

Firſt, By Liberty of Conſcience, we underſtand not only a mere Liberty of the Mind, in believing or diſbelieving this or that principle or doctrine; but 'the 'exerciſe of ourſelves in a viſible way of worſhip, 'upon our believing it to be indiſpenſably required at 'our hands, that if we neglect it for fear or favour of any mortal man, we ſin, and incur divine wrath.' Yet we would be ſo underſtood to extend and juſtify the lawfulneſs of our ſo meeting to worſhip God, as not to contrive, or abet any contrivance deſtructive of the government and laws of the land, tending to matters of an external nature, directly or indirectly; but ſo far only as it may refer to religious matters, and a life to come, and conſequently wholly independent of the ſecular affairs of this, wherein we are ſuppoſed to tranſgreſs.

Secondly, By impoſition, reſtraint, and perſecution, we do not only mean the ſtrict requiring of us to believe this to be true, or that to be falſe; and upon refuſal, to incur the penalties enacted in ſuch caſes; but by thoſe terms we mean thus much, 'any coercive lett 'or hindrance to us, from meeting together to perform 'thoſe religious exerciſes which are according to our 'faith and perſuaſion."

The queſtion ſtated.

For proof of the aforeſaid terms thus given, we ſingly ſtate the queſtion thus;

Whether impoſition, reſtraint, and perſecution, upon perſons for exerciſing ſuch a liberty of conſcience as is before expreſſed, and ſo circumſtantiated, be not to impeach the honour of God, the meekneſs of the Chriſtian religion, the authority of Scripture, the privilege of nature, the principles of common reaſon, the well being of government, and apprehenſions of the greateſt perſonages of former and latter ages?

Firſt,

First, Then we ſay, that Impoſition, Reſtraint, and Perſecution, for matters relating to conſcience, directly invade the divine prerogative, and diveſt the Almighty of a due, proper to none beſides himſelf. And this we prove by theſe five particulars:

First, If we do allow the honour of our creation due to God only, and that no other beſides himſelf has endowed us with thoſe excellent gifts of Underſtanding, Reaſon, Judgment, and Faith, and conſequently that he only is the object, as well as the author, both of our Faith, Worſhip, and Service; then whoſoever ſhall interpoſe their authority to enact faith and worſhip in a way that ſeems not to us congruous with what he has diſcovered to us to be faith and worſhip (whoſe alone property it is to do it) or to reſtrain us from what we are perſuaded is our indiſpenſable duty, they evidently uſurp this authority, and invade his incommunicable right of government over conſcience: 'For the Inſpiration of the Almighty gives 'underſtanding: and faith is the gift of God,' ſays the divine writ.

Secondly, Such magiſterial determinations carry an evident claim to that infallibility, which Proteſtants have been hitherto ſo jealous of owning, that, to avoid the Papiſts, they have denied it to all but God himſelf.

Either they have forſook their old plea; or if not, we deſire to know when, and where, they were inveſted with that divine excellency; and whether impoſition, reſtraint, and perſecution, were ever deemed by God the fruits of his Spirit. However, that itſelf was not ſufficient; for unleſs it appear as well to us that they have it, as to them who have it, we cannot believe it upon any convincing evidence, but by tradition only; an anti-proteſtant way of believing.

Thirdly, It enthrones man as king over conſcience, the alone juſt claim and privilege of his Creator; whoſe thoughts are not as mens thoughts, but has reſerved to himſelf that empire from all the Cæſars on earth: For if men, in reference to ſouls and bodies, things appertaining

taining to this and the other world, ſhall be ſubject to their fellow-creatures, what follows, but that Cæſar (however he got it) has all, God's ſhare, and his own too? And being Lord of both, both are Cæſar's, and not God's.

Fourthly, It defeats God's work of Grace, and the inviſible operation of his eternal Spirit, (which can alone beget faith, and is only to be obeyed, in and about religion and worſhip) and attributes mens conformity to outward force and corporal puniſhments. A faith ſubject to as many revolutions as the powers that enact it.

Fifthly and laſtly, Such perſons aſſume the judgment of the great tribunal unto themſelves; for to whomſoever men are impoſedly or reſtrictively ſubject and accountable in matters of faith, worſhip and conſcience; in them alone muſt the power of judgment reſide: but it is equally true that God ſhall judge all by Jeſus Chriſt; and that no man is ſo accountable to his fellow-creatures, as to be impoſed upon, reſtrained, or perſecuted for any matter of conſcience whatever.

Thus, and in many more particulars, are men accuſtomed to intrench upon Divine Property, to gratify particular intereſts in the world; and (at beſt) through a miſguided apprehenſion to imagine 'they do God 'good ſervice,' that where they cannot give faith, they will uſe force; which kind of ſacrifice is nothing leſs unreaſonable than the other is abominable: God will not give his honour to another; and to him only, that ſearches the heart and tries the reins, it is our duty to aſcribe the gifts of underſtanding and faith, without which none can pleaſe God.

CHAP.

CHAP II.

They overturn the Chriſtian Religion; 1. In the nature of it, which is meekneſs; 2. In the practice of it, which is ſuffering; 3. In the promotion of it, ſince all farther diſcoveries are prohibited; 4. In the rewards of it, which are eternal.

THE next great evil which attends external force in matters of faith and worſhip, is no leſs than the overthrow of the whole Chriſtian religion; and this we will briefly evidence in theſe four particulars, 1. That there can be nothing more remote from the nature, 2. The practice, 3. The promotion, 4. The rewards of it.

Firſt, It is the privilege of the Chriſtian faith above the dark ſuggeſtions of ancient and modern ſuperſtitious traditions, to carry with it a moſt ſelf-evidencing verity, which ever was ſufficient to proſelyte believers, without the weak auxiliaries of external power. The Son of God, and great example of the world, was ſo far from calling his Father's omnipotency in legions of angels to his defence, that he at once repealed all acts of force, and defined to us the nature of his religion in this one great ſaying of his, MY KINGDOM IS NOT OF THIS WORLD. It was ſpiritual, not carnal; accompanied with weapons as heavenly as its own nature, and deſigned for the good and ſalvation of the ſoul, and not the injury and deſtruction of the body: no gaols, fines, exiles, &c. but 'ſound Reaſon, clear Truth, 'and ſtrict Life.' In ſhort, the Chriſtian religion intreats all, but compels none.

Secondly, That reſtraint and perſecution overturn the practice of it. I need go no farther than the allowed Martyrologies of ſeveral ages, of which the Scriptures claim a ſhare; begin with Abel, go down to Moſes, ſo to the Prophets, and then to the meek example of Jeſus Chriſt himſelf; how patiently devoted was he to undergo the contradictions of men! and ſo far

far from perſecuting any, that he would not ſo much as revile his perſecutors, but prayed for them: Thus lived his apoſtles, and the true Chriſtians of the firſt three hundred years. Nor are the famous ſtories of our firſt reformers ſilent in the matter; witneſs the Chriſtian practices of the Waldenſes, Lollards, Huſſites, Lutherans, and our noble martyrs; who, as became the true followers of Jeſus Chriſt, enacted and confirmed their religion with their own blood, and not with the blood of their oppoſers.

Thirdly, Reſtraint and perſecution obſtruct the promotion of the Chriſtian Religion: For if ſuch as reſtrain, confeſs themſelves 'miſerable ſinners, and altogether imperfect,' it either follows, that they never deſire to be better, or that they ſhould encourage ſuch as may be capable of farther informing and reforming them: They condemn the Papiſts for incoffining the ſcriptures and their worſhip in an unknown tongue, and yet are guilty themſelves of the ſame kind of fact.

Fourthly, They prevent many of eternal rewards: for where any are religious for fear, and that of men, it is ſlaviſh, and the recompence of ſuch religion is condemnation, not peace: beſides, it is man that is ſerved; who having no power but what is temporary, his reward muſt needs be ſo too: he that impoſes a duty, or reſtrains from one, muſt reward; but becauſe no man can reward for ſuch duties, no man can or ought to impoſe them, or reſtrain from them. So that we conclude Impoſition, Reſtraint and Perſecution, are deſtructive of the Chriſtian religion, in the Nature, Practice, Promotion and Rewards of it, which are eternal.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

They oppoſe the plaineſt teſtimonies of divine writ that can be, which condemn all force upon conſcience.

WE farther ſay, that impoſition, reſtraint and perſecution are repugnant to the plain teſtimonies and precepts of the ſcriptures.

1. 'The inſpiration of the Almighty gives underſtanding.' Job xxxii. 8.

If no man can believe before he underſtands, and no man underſtand before he is inſpired of God; then are the impoſitions of men excluded as unreaſonable and their perſecutions for non-obedience as inhuman.

2. 'Wo unto them that take counſel, but not of 'me.' Iſa. xxx. 1.

3. 'Wo unto them that make a man an offender 'for a word, and lay a ſnare for him that reproves in 'the gate, and turn aſide the juſt for a thing of nought.' Iſa. xxix. 15, 21.

4. 'Let the wheat and the tares grow together, 'until the time of the harveſt, or end of the world.' Matt. xiii. 27, 28, 29.

5. 'And Jeſus called them unto him, and ſaid, 'Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exerciſe do-'minion over them, and they that are great exerciſe 'authority upon them; but it ſhall not be ſo amongſt 'you.' Matt. xx. 25, 26.

6. 'And Jeſus ſaid unto them, Render unto Cæſar 'the things that are Cæſar's, and unto God the things 'that are God's. Luke xx. 25.

7. 'When his diſciples ſaw this, (that there were 'non-conformiſts then, as well as now) they ſaid, 'Wilt thou that we command fire to come down from 'heaven and conſume them, as Elias did? but he 'turned and rebuked them, and ſaid, Ye know not 'what ſpirit ye are of; for the Son of man is not come 'to deſtroy mens lives, but to ſave them.' Luke ix. 54, 55, 56.

8. 'Howbeit

8. 'Howbeit, when the Spirit of truth is come, he ſhall lead you into all truth.' John xvi. 8. 13.

9. 'But now the anointing which ye have received 'of him, abides in you; and you need not that any 'man teach you,' (much leſs impoſe upon any, or reſtrain them from what any are perſuaded it leads to) 'but as the ſame anointing teaches you of all things, 'and is truth, and is no lye.' 1 John ii. 27.

10. 'Dearly beloved, avenge not yourſelves; but 'rather give place unto wrath' (much leſs ſhould any be wrathful that are called Chriſtians, where no occaſion is given). 'Therefore if thine enemy hunger, 'feed him; and if he thirſt, give him drink; recom-'pence no man evil for evil.' Rom. xii. 19, 20, 21.

11. 'For though we walk in the fleſh,' (that is, in the body, or viſible world) 'we do not war after 'the fleſh; for the weapons of our warfare are not 'carnal.' 2 Cor. x. 3. (but fines and impriſonments are; and ſuch uſe not the apoſtles weapons that employ thoſe). 'For a biſhop, 1 Tim. iii. 3. (ſaith Paul) 'muſt be of good behaviour, apt to teach, no ſtriker; 'but be gentle unto all men, patient, in meekneſs in-'ſtructing, (not perſecuting) thoſe that oppoſe them-'ſelves, if God peradventure will give them repent-'ance to the acknowledging of the truth.' 2 Tim. ii. 24, 25.

12. Laſtly, We ſhall ſubjoin one paſſage more, and then no more of this particular; 'Whatſoever ye 'would that men ſhould do to you, do ye even ſo to 'them.' Matt. vii. 12. Luke vi. 31.

Now upon the whole, we ſeriouſly aſk, Whether any ſhould be impoſed upon, or reſtrained, in matters of faith and worſhip? Whether ſuch practices become the goſpel, or are ſuitable to Chriſt's meek precepts and ſuffering doctrine? And laſtly, Whether thoſe, who are herein guilty, do to us as they would be done unto by others?

What if any were once ſevere to you; many are unconcerned in that, who are yet liable to the laſh, as if they were not. But if you once thought the impoſition

of a directory unreaſonable, and a reſtraint from your way of worſhip unchriſtian, can you believe that Liberty of Conſcience is changed, becauſe the Parties, in point of power, are? Or that the ſame reaſons do not yet remain in vindication of an indulgence for others, that were once employed by you for yourſelves? Surely ſuch conjectures would argue groſs weakneſs.

To conclude: Whether perſecutors at any time read the Scriptures, we know not; but certain we are, ſuch practice as little of them as may be, who with ſo much delight reject them, and think it no ſmall acceſſion to the diſcovery of their loyalty, to lead us and our properties in triumph after them.

CHAP. IV.

They are enemies to the privilege of nature; 1. As rendering ſome more, and others leſs, than men; 2. As ſubverting the univerſal good that is God's gift to men; 3. As deſtroying all natural affection. Next, they are enemies to the noble principle of reaſon, as appears in ſeven great inſtances.

WE farther ſay, that impoſition, reſtraint, and perſecution, are alſo deſtructive of the great privilege of nature and principle of reaſon. Of nature, in three inſtances:

Firſt, If God Almighty 'has made of one blood 'all nations,' as himſelf has declared, and that he has given them both ſenſes corporeal and intellectual, to diſcern things and their differences, ſo as to aſſert or deny from evidences and reaſons proper to each; then where any one enacts the belief or diſbelief of any thing upon the reſt, or reſtrains any from the exerciſe of their faith, to them indiſpenſable, ſuch an one exalts himſelf beyond his bounds, enſlaves his fellow-creatures, invades their right of liberty, and ſo perverts the whole order of nature.

Secondly,

Secondly, Mankind is hereby robbed of the uſe and benefit of that inſtinct of a Deity, which is ſo natural to him, that he can be no more without it, and be, than he can be without the moſt eſſential part of himſelf. For to what ſerves that divine principle in the univerſality of mankind, if men be reſtricted by the preſcriptions of ſome individuals? but if the excellent nature of it 'inclines men to GOD, not man; if the 'power of accuſing and excuſing be committed to it; 'if the troubled thoughts and ſad reflections of forlorn 'and dying men make their tendency that way only,' (as being hopeleſs of all other relief and ſuccour from any external power or command), What ſhall we ſay, but that ſuch as invalidate the authority of this heavenly inſtinct, (as impoſition and reſtraint evidently do) deſtroy nature, or that privilege which men are born with, and to.

Thirdly, All natural affection is deſtroyed: for thoſe who have ſo little tenderneſs, as to perſecute men that cannot for conſcience-ſake yield them compliance, manifeſtly act injuriouſly to their fellow-creatures, and conſequently are enemies to nature; for nature being one in all, ſuch as ruin thoſe who are equally entiled with themſelves to nature, ruin it in them, as in liberty, property, &c. and ſo bring the ſtate of nature to the ſtate of war; as the great Leviathan of the times, as ignorantly as boldly, does aſſert.

But, ſecondly, We alſo prove them deſtructive of the noble principle of reaſon, and that in theſe ſeven particulars:

1. In that thoſe who impoſe, or reſtrain, are uncertain of the truth and juſtifiableneſs of their actions. In either of theſe, their own diſcourſes and confeſſions are pregnant inſtances, where they tell us, that they do not pretend to be infallible, only they humbly conceive it is thus, or it is not. Since then they are uncertain and fallible, how can they impoſe upon, or reſtrain others, whom they are ſo far from aſſuring, that they are not able to do ſo much for themſelves? What

is this, but to impoſe an uncertain faith, upon certain penalties?

2. As he that acts doubtfully is damned, ſo faith in all acts of religion is neceſſary: now in order to believe, we muſt firſt will; to will, we muſt judge; to judge any thing, we muſt firſt underſtand: if then we cannot be ſaid to underſtand any thing againſt our underſtanding; no more can we judge, will, or believe againſt our underſtanding: and if the doubter be damned, what muſt he be that conforms directly againſt his judgment and belief, and they likewiſe that require it from him? In ſhort, that man cannot be ſaid to have any religion, that takes it by another man's choice, not his own.

3. Where men are limited in matters of religion, there the rewards which are entailed on the free acts of men are quite overthrown; and ſuch as ſuperſede that grand charter of Liberty of Conſcience, fruſtrate all hopes of recompence, by rendering the actions of men unavoidable. But thoſe think, perhaps, they do not deſtroy all freedom, becauſe they uſe ſo much of their own.

4. They ſubvert all true religion; for where men believe, not becauſe it is true, but becauſe they are required to do ſo, there they will unbelieve, not becauſe it is falſe, but ſo commanded by their ſuperiors, whoſe authority their intereſt and ſecurity oblige them rather to obey, than diſpute.

5. They delude, or rather compel people out of their eternal rewards; for where men are commanded to act in reference to religion, and can neither be ſecured of their religion, nor yet ſaved harmleſs from puniſhment, that ſo acting and believing diſprivileges them for ever of that recompence which is provided for the faithful.

6. Men have their liberty and choice in external matters; they are not compelled to marry this perſon, to converſe with that, to buy here, to eat there, nor to ſleep yonder; yet if men had power to impoſe or reſtrain in any thing, one would think it ſhould be

be in ſuch exterior matters: but that this liberty ſhould be unqueſtioned, and that of the mind deſtroyed, iſſues here, 'That it does not unbrute us, but unman us: 'for take away underſtanding, reaſon, judgment, and 'faith, and, like Nebuchadnezzar, let us go graze 'with the beaſts of the field.'

Seventhly and laſtly, That which moſt of all blackens the buſineſs, is PERSECUTION: for though it is very unreaſonable to require faith where men cannot chuſe but doubt, yet, after all, to puniſh them for diſobedience, is cruelty in the abſtract: for we demand, 'Shall 'men ſuffer for not doing what they cannot do?' muſt they be perſecuted here if they do not go againſt their conſciences, and puniſhed hereafter if they do? But neither is this all; for that part that is yet moſt unreaſonable, and that gives the cleareſt ſight of perſecution, is ſtill behind, namely, 'The monſtrous ar-'guments they have to convince an heretick with:' not thoſe of old, as ſpiritual as the Chriſtian religion, which were, 'to admoniſh, warn, and finally to reject;' but ſuch as were employed by the perſecuting Jews and heathens againſt the Great Example of the world, and ſuch as followed him, and by the inhuman Papiſts againſt our firſt reformers, as 'clubs, ſtaves, ſtocks, 'pillories, priſons, dungeons, exiles, &c. in a word, 'ruin to whole families; as if it were not ſo much 'their deſign to convince the ſoul, as to deſtroy the 'body.'

To conclude: There ought to be an adequation and reſemblance betwixt all ends, and the means to them; but in this caſe there can be none imaginable: the end, is the conformity of our judgments and underſtandings to the acts of ſuch as require it; the means are fines and impriſonments, and bloody knocks to boot.

Now, what proportion or aſſimilation theſe bear, let the ſober judge: the underſtanding can never be convinced, nor properly ſubmit, but by ſuch arguments as are rational, perſuaſive, and ſuitable to its own nature; ſomething that can reſolve its doubts, anſwer

its objections, enervate its propoſitions. But to imagine thoſe barbarous Newgate inſtruments of clubs, fines, priſons, &c. with that whole troop of external and dumb materials of force, ſhould be fit arguments to convince the underſtanding, ſcatter its ſcruples, and finally convert it to their religion, is altogether irrational, cruel, and impoſſible. Force may make an hypocrite; 'it is faith, grounded upon knowledge, 'and conſent, that makes a Chriſtian.' And to conclude, as we can never betray the honour of our conformity (only due to truth) by a baſe and timorous hypocriſy to any external violence under heaven; ſo muſt we needs ſay, unreaſonable are thoſe impoſers, who ſecure not the impoſed or reſtrained from what may occur to them, upon their account; and moſt inhuman are thoſe perſecutors that puniſh men for not obeying them, though to their utter ruin.

CHAP. V.

They carry a contradiction to government: 1. In the nature of it, which is juſtice. 2. In the execution of it, which is prudence. 3. In the end of it, which is fidelity. Seven common, but grand objections, fairly ſtated, and briefly anſwered.

WE next urge, that force, in matters relating to conſcience, carries a plain contradiction to government, in the nature, execution, and end of it.

By government we underſtand, an external order of juſtice, or the right and prudent diſciplining of any ſociety by juſt laws, either in the relaxation or execution of them.

Firſt, It carries a contradiction to government in the nature of it, which is juſtice, and that in three reſpects.

1. It is the firſt leſſon that great Syntereſis, ſo much renowned by philoſophers and civilians, learns mankind, 'To do as they would be done to;' ſince he that

that gives what he would not take, or takes what he would not give, only ſhews care for himſelf, but neither kindneſs nor juſtice for another.

2. The juſt nature of government lies in a fair and equal retribution: but what can be more unequal, than that men ſhould be rated more than their proportion to anſwer the neceſſities of government, and yet that they ſhould not only receive no protection from it, but by it be diſſeiſed of their dear liberty and properties? We ſay, to be compelled to pay that power that exerts itſelf to ruin thoſe that pay it, or that any ſhould be required to enrich thoſe that ruin them, is hard and unequal, and therefore contrary to the juſt nature of government. If we muſt be contributaries to the maintenance of it, we are entitled to a protection from it.

3. It is the juſtice of government to proportion penalties to the crime committed. Now granting our diſſent to be a fault, yet the infliction of a corporal or external puniſhment, for a mere mental error (and that not voluntary) is unreaſonable and inadequate, as well as againſt particular directions of the ſcriptures, Tit. iii. 9, 10, 11. For as corporal penalties cannot convince the underſtanding; ſo neither can they be commenſurate puniſhments for faults purely intellectual: and for the government of this world to intermeddle with what belongs to the government of another, and which can have no ill aſpect or influence upon it, ſhews more of invaſion than right and juſtice.

Secondly, It carries a contradiction to government in the execution of it, which is prudence, and that in theſe inſtances.

1. The ſtate of the caſe is this, that there is no republick ſo great, no empire ſo vaſt, but the laws of them are reſolvable into theſe two ſeries or heads; 'Of laws fundamental, which are indiſpenſable and 'immutable; and laws ſuperficial, which are tempo-'rary and alterable:' and as it is juſtice and prudence to be punctual in the execution of the former, ſo, by

circumſtances, it may be neither to execute the latter, they being ſuited to the preſent conveniency and emergency of ſtate; as the prohibiting of cattle out of Ireland was judged of advantage to the farmers of England, yet a murrain would make it the good of the whole that the law ſhould be broke, or at leaſt the execution of it ſuſpended. That the law of reſtraint, in point of conſcience, is of this number, we may farther manifeſt, and the imprudence of thinking otherwiſe: for firſt, if the ſaying were as true as it is falſe, "No "biſhop, no king," (which admits of various readings; as, "no decimating clergy, or no perſecution, "no king,") we ſhould be as ſilent as ſome would have us; but the confidence of their aſſertion, and the impolicy of ſuch as believe it, makes us to ſay, that a greater injury cannot be done to the preſent government. For if ſuch laws and eſtabliſhments are fundamental, they are as immutable as mankind itſelf; but that they are as alterable as the conjectures and opinions of governors have been, is evident; ſince the ſame fundamental indiſpenſable laws and policy of theſe kingdoms have ſtill remained, through all variety of oppoſite ruling opinions and judgments, and disjoined from them all. Therefore to admit of ſuch a fixation to temporary laws, muſt needs be highly imprudent, and deſtructive of the eſſential parts of the government of theſe countries.

2. That ſince there has been a time of connivance, and that with no ill ſucceſs to public affairs, it cannot be prudence to diſcontinue it, unleſs it was imprudence before to give it; and ſuch little deſerve it that think ſo.

3. Diſſenters not being conſcious to themſelves of any juſt forfeiture of that favour, are as well grieved in their reſentments of this alteration, as the contrary did oblige them to very grateful acknowledgments.

4. This muſt be done to gratify all, or the greateſt part, or but ſome few only: it is a demonſtration, all are not pleaſed with it; that the greateſt number is not, the empty public auditories will ſpeak: in ſhort,

how

how ſhould either be; when ſix parties are ſacrificed to the ſeventh: that this cannot be prudence, common maxims and obſervations prove.

5. It ſtrikes fatally at Proteſtant ſincerity: for will the Papiſts ſay, Did Proteſtants exclaim againſt us for perſecutors, and are they now the men themſelves? Was it an inſtance of weakneſs in our religion, and is it become a demonſtration of ſtrength in theirs? Have they tranſmuted it from antichriſtian in us, to chriſtian in themſelves? let perſecutors anſwer.

6. It is not only an example, but an incentive to the Romaniſts to perſecute the reformed religion abroad: for when they ſee their actions (once void of all excuſe) now defended by the example of Proteſtants, that once accuſed them, (but now themſelves) doubtleſs they will revive their cruelty.

7. It overturns the very ground of the Proteſtants retreat from Rome: for if men muſt be reſtrained, upon pretended prudential conſiderations, from the exerciſe of their conſcience in England; why not the ſame in France, Holland, Germany, Conſtantinople, &c. where matters of ſtate may equally be pleaded? This makes religion ſtate-policy; and faith and worſhip, ſubſervient to the humours and intereſts of ſuperiors: ſuch doctrine would have prevented our anceſtors retreat; and we wiſh it be not the beginning of a back-march; for ſome think it ſhrewdly to be ſuſpected, where religion is ſuited to the government, and conſcience to its conveniency.

8. Vice is encouraged: for if licentious perſons ſee men of virtue moleſted for aſſembling with a religious purpoſe to reverence and worſhip God, and that are otherwiſe moſt ſerviceable to the commonwealth, they may and will infer, it is better for them to be as they are; ſince not to be demure, as they call it, is half-way to that kind of accompliſhment which procures preferment.

9. For ſuch perſons as are ſo poor-ſpirited as to truckle under ſuch reſtraints, what conqueſt is there over them, that before were conſcientious men, and

now

now hypocrites? who ſo forward to be avenged of them, that brought this guilt upon them, as they themſelves? and how can the impoſers be ſecure of their friendſhip, whom they have taught to change with the times?

10. Such laws are ſo far from benefiting the country, that the execution of them will be the aſſured ruin of it, in the revenues, and conſequently in the power of it: for where there is a decay of families, there will be of trade; ſo of wealth, and in the end of ſtrength and power: and if both kinds of relief fail, men, the prop of republicks; money, the ſtay of monarchies; this, as requiring mercenaries; that, as needing freemen; farewell the intereſt of England! 'tis true, the prieſts get (though that is but for a time) but the king and people loſe, as the event will ſhew.

11. It ever was the prudence of wiſe magiſtrates to oblige their people; but what comes ſhorter of it than perſecution? what dearer to them than the liberty of their conſcience? what cannot they better ſpare than it? their peace conſiſts in the enjoyment of it: and he that by compliance has loſt it, carries his penalty with him, and is his own priſon. Surely ſuch practices muſt render the government uneaſy, and beget a great diſreſpect to the governors, in the hearts of the people.

12. But that which concludes our prudential part ſhall be this, that after all their pains and good-will to ſtretch men to their meaſure, they never will be able to accompliſh their end: and if he be an unwiſe man, that provides means where he deſigns no end, how near is he of kin to him that propoſes an end unobtainable. Experience has told us, 1. How invective it has made the impoſed-on. 2. What diſtractions have enſued ſuch attempts. 3. What reproach has followed to the Chriſtian religion, when the profeſſors of it have uſed a coercive power upon conſcience. And laſtly, That force never yet made either a good Chriſtian, or a good ſubject.

Thirdly

Thirdly and laſtly, Since the proceedings we argue againſt are proved ſo deſtructive to the juſtice and prudence of government, we ought the leſs to wonder that they ſhould hold the ſame malignity againſt the end of it, which is felicity, ſince the wonder would be to find it otherwiſe; and this is evident from theſe three conſiderations:

1. Peace (the end of war and government, and its great happineſs too) has been, is, and yet will be, broken by the frequent tumultuary diſturbances that enſue the diſquieting our meetings, and the eſtreating fines upon our goods and eſtates. And what theſe things may iſſue in, concerneth the civil magiſtrate to conſider.

2. Plenty (another great end of government) will be converted into poverty, by the deſtruction of ſo many thouſand families as refuſe compliance and conformity, and that not only to the ſufferers, but influentially to all the reſt; a demonſtration of which we have in all thoſe places where the late act has been any thing conſiderably put in execution. Beſides, how great provocation ſuch incharity and cruel uſage, as ſtripping widows, fatherleſs, and poor, of their very neceſſaries for human life, merely upon an account of faith or worſhip, muſt needs be to the juſt and righteous Lord of heaven and earth, ſcriptures, and plenty of other hiſtories, plainly ſhew us.

3. Unity (not the leaſt, but greateſt end of government) is loſt: for by ſeeking an unity of opinion, by the ways intended, the unity requiſite to uphold us as a civil ſociety, will be quite deſtroyed. And ſuch as relinquiſh that, to get the other, beſides that they are unwiſe, will infallibly loſe both in the end.

In ſhort, we ſay that it is unreaſonable we ſhould not be entertained as men, becauſe ſome think we are not as good Chriſtians as they pretend to wiſh us; or that we ſhould be deprived of our liberties and properties, who never broke the laws that gave them to us: what can be harder, than to take that from us by a law, which the great indulgence and ſolicitude of our anceſtors

ceſtors took ſo much pains to intail upon us by law; An. 18 Ed. 3. ſtat. 3. alſo ſtat. 20. Ed. 3. cap. 1. Again, Petition of Right, An. 3. Car. and more fully in *Magna Charta*; farther, peruſe 37 Ed. 3. chap. 8. 28. 42 Ed. 3. cap. 7.

And we are perſuaded, that no temporary ſubſequential law whatever to our fundamental rights, (as this of force on conſcience is) can invalidate ſo eſſential a part of the government, as Engliſh liberty and property: nor that it is in the power of any on earth to deprive us of them, till we have firſt done it ourſelves, by ſuch enormous facts as thoſe very laws prohibit, and make our forfeiture of that benefit we ſhould otherwiſe receive by them: for theſe being ſuch cardinal and fundamental points of Engliſh law-doctrine, individually, and by the collective body of the people, agreed to, and on which, as the moſt ſolid baſis, our ſecondary legiſlative power, as well as executive, is built; it ſeems moſt rational that the ſuperſtructure cannot quarrel or invalidate its own foundation, without manifeſtly endangering its own ſecurity: the effect is ever leſs noble than the cauſe; the gift than the giver; and the ſuperſtructure than the foundation.

The ſingle queſtion to be reſolved in the caſe, briefly will be this, whether any viſible authority (being founded in its primitive inſtitution upon thoſe fundamental laws, that inviolably preſerve the people in all their juſt rights and privileges) may invalidate all, or any, of the ſaid laws, without an implicit ſhaking of its own foundation, and a clear overthrow of its own conſtitution of government, and ſo reduce them to their *Statu quo prius*, or firſt principles? The reſolution is every man's, at his own pleaſure. Read Hen. 3. 9, 14, 29. 25 Ed. 3. Cook's inſtit. 2. 19, 50, 51.

Thoſe who intend us no ſhare or intereſt in the laws of England, as they relate to civil matters, unleſs we correſpond with them in points of faith and worſhip, muſt do two things, Firſt, it will lie heavy on their parts to prove, that the ancient compact and original

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of our laws carries that proviſo with it; elſe we are manifeſtly diſſeiſed of our free-cuſtoms.

Secondly, They are to prove the reaſonableneſs of ſuch proceedings to our underſtandings, that we may not be concluded by a law we know not how to underſtand: for if I take the matter rightly (as I think I do) we muſt not buy or ſell, unleſs of this or that perſuaſion in religion; not conſidering civil ſociety was in the world before the Proteſtant profeſſion; men, as ſuch, and in affairs peculiarly relative to them in an external and civil capacity, have ſubſiſted many ages under great variety of religious apprehenſions, and therefore not ſo dependent on them as to receive any variation or revolution with them. What ſhall we ſay then? but that ſome will not that we ſhould live, breathe, and commerce as men, becauſe we are not ſuch modelled Chriſtians as they coercively would have us: they might with as much juſtice and reputation to themſelves forbid us to look or ſee unleſs our eyes were grey, black, brown, blue, or ſome one colour beſt ſuiting theirs: for not to be able to give us faith, or ſave our conſciences harmleſs, and yet to perſecute us for refuſing conformity, is intolerable hard meaſure.

In ſhort, that coercive way of bringing all men to their height of perſuaſion, muſt either ariſe from exorbitant zeal and ſuperſtition, or from a conſciouſneſs of error and defect, which is unwilling any thing more ſincere and reformed ſhould take place; being of that cardinal's mind, who therefore would not hearken to a reformation, at the ſitting of the council of Trent, becauſe he would not ſo far approve the reformers judgment (for having once condeſcended to their apprehenſions, he thought it would for ever enſlave them to their ſenſe); though otherwiſe he ſaw, as much as any man, the grand neceſſity of a reformation, both of the Roman doctrine and converſation.

Some

Some grand Objections in the Way muſt be conſidered.

Objection 1. 'But you are a people that meet 'with deſigns to diſaffect the people, and to ruin the 'government.'

Anſwer. A ſurmiſe is no certainty; neither is a may-be, or conjecture, any proof: that from the firſt we have behaved ourſelves inoffenſively, is a demonſtration; that our meetings are open, where all may hear our matter, and have liberty to object or diſcuſs any point, is notorious. Ignorant calumnies are ſandy foundations to build ſo high a charge upon: let us be fairly heard in public conference, how far we can juſtify our principles from being deſervedly ſuſpected of ſedition or diſloyalty, and not over-run us with mere ſuppoſitions. We declare our readineſs to obey the ordinance of man, which is only relative to human or civil matters, and not points of faith, or practice in worſhip: but if accuſations muſt ſtand for proofs, we ſhall take it for granted that we muſt ſtand for criminals; but our ſatisfaction will be, that we ſhall not deſerve it, otherwiſe than as prejudice ſeeks to traduce us.

Object. 2. 'But you ſtrike at the doctrine, at 'leaſt the diſcipline, of the church; and conſequently 'are hereticks.'

Anſw. This ſtory is as old as the reformation: if we muſt be objected againſt out of pure reputation, let it be in ſome other matter than what the Papiſts objected againſt the firſt Proteſtants; otherwiſe you do but hit yourſelves in aiming at us? To ſay you were in the right, but we are in the wrong, is but a mere begging of the queſtion; for doubtleſs the Papiſts ſaid the ſame to you, and all that you can ſay to us. Your beſt plea was, conſcience, upon principles the moſt evident and rational to you: do not we the like? What

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if you think our reaſons thick, and our ground of ſeparation miſtaken? Did not the Papiſts harbour the ſame thoughts of you? You perſuaded as few of them, as we of you: were you therefore in the wrong? No more are we. It was not what they thought of you, or enacted againſt you, that concluded you: and why ſhould your apprehenſions conclude us? If you have the way of giving faith beyond what they had, and have the faculty of perſuaſion, evidence as much: but if you are as deſtitute of both, as they were to you; why ſhould fines and priſons, once uſed by them againſt you, and by you exclaimed againſt, as unchriſtian ways of reclaiming hereticks (ſuppoſing yourſelves to be ſuch) be employed by you as rational, chriſtian, and convincing upon us? To ſay we deſerve them more, is to ſuppoſe yourſelves in the right, and us in the wrong, which proves nothing. Beſides, the queſtion is not barely this, whether Hereticks or no Hereticks? But whether an Heretick ſhould be perſecuted into a diſclaiming of his error? Your old arguments run thus, as I well remember.

1. Error is a miſtake in the underſtanding.
2. This is for want of a better illumination.
3. This error can never be diſlodged, but by reaſon and perſuaſion, as what are moſt ſuitable to the intellect of man.
4. Fines, gaols, exiles, gibbets, &c. are no convincing arguments to the moſt erring underſtanding in the world, being ſlaviſh and brutiſh.
5. This way of force makes, inſtead of an honeſt diſſenter, but an hypocritical conformiſt; than whom nothing is more deteſtable to God and man.

This being the Proteſtants plea, we are not to be diſliked by Proteſtants, for following their own avowed maxims and axioms of conſcience in defence of its own liberty.

In ſhort, either allow ſeparation upon the ſingle principle of 'My conſcience owns this, or diſowns 'that;' or never dwell in that building which knew no better foundation (indeed good enough); but, accuſing

cuſing your forefathers of ſchiſm and hereſy, return to the Romiſh church. What ſhort of this can any ſay to an Anti-liberty-of-Conſcience Proteſtant?

Object. 3. 'But at this rate ye may pretend to cut 'our throats, and do all manner of ſavage acts.'

Anſw. Though the objection be frequent, yet it is as foully ridiculous. We are pleading only for ſuch a liberty of conſcience as preſerves the nation in peace, trade, and commerce; and would not exempt any man, or party of men, from not keeping thoſe excellent laws, that tend to ſober, juſt, and induſtrious living. It is a Jeſuitical moral, 'To kill a man before he is 'born:' firſt, to ſuſpect him of an evil deſign; and then kill him, to prevent it.

Object. 4. 'But do not you ſee what has been the 'end of this ſeparation? Wars, and revolutions, and 'danger to government; witneſs our late troubles.'

Anſw. We ſee none of all this; but are able to make it appear, that the true cauſe of all that perplexed diſturbance, which was amongſt the *Homoouſians* and *Arians* of old, and among us of latter years (as well as what has modernly attended our neighbouring countries) took its firſt riſe from a narrowneſs of ſpirit, in not tolerating others to live the free men God made them, in external matters upon the earth, merely upon ſome difference in religion.

And were there once but an hearty toleration eſtabliſhed, it would be a demonſtration of the truth of this aſſertion. On this ground empire ſtands ſafe; on the other, it ſeems more uncertain.

But theſe are only the popular devices of ſome to traduce honeſt men, and their principles; whoſe lazy life, and intolerable advice, become queſtioned, by a toleration of people better inclined.

Object.

Object. 5. 'But what need you take this pains to 'prove liberty of conſcience reaſonable and neceſſary, 'when none queſtions it? All that is required is, that 'you meet but four more than your own families; and 'can you not be contented with that? Your diſobe-'dience to a law ſo favourable, brings ſuffering upon 'you.'

Anſ. Here is no need of anſwering the former part of the objection: it is too apparent throughout the land, that Liberty of Conſcience, as we have ſtated it, has been ſeverely proſecuted, and therefore not ſo frankly enjoined. The latter part I anſwer thus, if the words lawful or unlawful may bear their ſignification from the nature of the things they ſtand for, then we conceive that a meeting of four thouſand is no more unlawful than a meeting of four: for number, ſingly conſidered, criminates no aſſembly; but the reaſon of their aſſembling, the poſture in which and the matter tranſacted, with the conſequences thereof.

Now if thoſe things are taken for granted to be things diſpenſable (as appears by the allowance of four beſides every family) certainly the number can never render it unlawful: ſo that the queſtion will be this, whether if four, met to worſhip God, be an allowable meeting, four thouſand, met with the ſame deſign, be not an allowable meeting?

It is ſo plain a caſe, that the matter in queſtion reſolves it.

Object. 6. 'But the law forbids it.'

Anſw. If the ENACTING any thing can make it lawful, we have done: but if an act ſo made by the Papiſts againſt Proteſtants, was never eſteemed ſo by a true Proteſtant; and if the nature of the matter will not bear it; and laſtly, that we are as much commanded by God to meet four thouſand, as four; we muſt deſire to be excuſed, if we forbear not the aſſembling of ourſelves together, as the manner of ſome is.

Object. 7. 'But the reaſon of the prohibition of 'the number is' (for you ſee they allow all that can be ſaid to four thouſand to be ſaid to the family and four) 'that tumults may ariſe, and plots may be made, 'and the like inconveniencies happen to the govern-'ment.'

Anſ. Great aſſemblies are ſo far from being injurious, that they are the moſt inoffenſive: for, firſt, they are open, expoſed to the view of all, which of all things plotters are the ſhyeſt of. But how fair an opportunity it were for men ſo principled to do it in thoſe allowed meetings of but four beſides the family, is eaſy to gueſs, when we conſider, that few make the beſt and cloſeſt council; and next, that ſuch an aſſembly is the moſt private and clandeſtine, and ſo fitted for miſchief and ſurprize.

Secondly, Such aſſemblies are not only public and large, but they are frequented, as well by thoſe that are not of their way, as by their own. From whence it follows, that we have the greateſt reaſon to be cautious and wiſe in our behaviour, ſince the more there be at our meetings, the more witneſſes are againſt us, if we ſhould ſay or act any thing that may be prejudicial to the government.

Laſtly, For theſe ſeveral years none could ever obſerve ſuch an ill uſe made of that freedom, or ſuch wicked deſigns to follow ſuch aſſemblies; and therefore it is high incharity to proceed ſo ſeverely upon meer ſuppoſitions.

To this we ſhall add ſeveral authorities and teſtimonies for farther confirmation of our ſenſe of the matter, and to let impoſers ſee, that we are not the only perſons who have impleaded perſecution, and juſtified Liberty of Conſcience, as Chriſtian and rational.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

They reflect upon the ſenſe and practice of the wiſeſt, greateſt, and beſt ſtates and perſons of ancient and modern times; as of the Jews, Romans, Egyptians, Germans, French, Hollanders, nay, Turks and Perſians too: and Cato, Livy, Tacitus, Juſtin Martyr, Tertullian, Jovianus, Chaucer, Dominicus Soto, Malvetzey, Grotius, Raleigh, Doctor and Student, French and Dutch Proteſtants in England, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Taylor, a nameleſs but great Perſon, Lactantius, Hilary, Jerom, Chryſoſtom, Poliſh and Bohemian kings, King James, and King Charles the Firſt.

A brief collection of the ſenſe and practice of the greateſt, wiſeſt, and learnedeſt common-wealths, kingdoms, and particular perſons of their times, concerning force upon conſcience.

1. THOUGH the Jews, above all people, had the moſt to ſay for impoſition and reſtraint within their own dominions, having their religion inſtituted by ſo many ſignal proofs of divine original, it being delivered to them by the hand of God himſelf, yet ſuch was their indulgence to Diſſenters, that if they held the common received Noachical principles tending to the acknowledgment of ONE GOD and a juſt life, they had the free exerciſe of their diſtinct modes or ways of worſhip, which were numerous. Of this their own Rabbies are witneſſes, and Grotius out of them.

2. The Romans themſelves, as ſtrict as they were, not only had thirty thouſand gods (if Varro may be credited) but almoſt every family of any note had its diſtinct *Sacra*, or peculiar way of worſhip.

3. It was the ſenſe of that grave, exemplary common-wealth's-man, Cato, in Salluſt, that among other things which ruin any government, want of freedom

of ſpeech, or men's being obliged to humour times, is a great one: which we find made good by the Florentine republick, as Guiccardine relates.

4. Livy tells us, 'It was a wonder that Hannibal's 'army, conſiſting of divers nations, divers humours, 'differing habits, contrary religions, various languages, ſhould live thirteen years from their own country under his command, without ſo much as once mutinying, either againſt their general, or among themſelves.' But what Livy relates for a wonder, that ingenious marquis Virgilio Malvetſey gives the reaſon of; namely, 'That the difference of their opinion, 'tongues, and cuſtoms, was the reaſon of their preſervation and conqueſt:' for, ſays he, 'It was impoſſible ſo many contrary ſpirits ſhould combine; 'and if any ſhould have done it, it was in the general's 'power to make the greater party by his equal hand; 'they owing him more of reverence, than they did of 'affection to one another. This,' ſays he, 'ſome impute to Hannibal; but how great ſoever he was, I 'give it to the variety of humours in the army. For,' adds he, 'Rome's army was ever leſs given to mutiny-'ing when joined with the provincial auxiliaries, than 'when entirely Roman.' Thus much, and more, in his publick diſcourſes upon Cornelius Tacitus.

5. The ſame beſt ſtatiſt of his time, C. Tacitus, tells us in the caſe of Cremtius, that it had been the intereſt of Tiberius not to have puniſhed him; inaſmuch as curioſity is begotten by reſtriction of liberty to write or ſpeak, which never miſſed of proſelytes.

6. Juſtin Martyr I will forbear to quote in leſs than his 'Two Whole Apologies,' dedicated to Adrian and Antoninus Pius, as I take it.

7. Tertullian ad Scapulam, that learned and judicious apologiſt, plainly tells us, 'That it is not the 'property of religion to compel or perſecute for reli-'gion:' ſhe ſhould be accepted for herſelf, not for force; that being a poor and beggarly one that has no better arguments to convince; and a manifeſt evidence of her ſuperſtition and falſehood.

8. Of

8. Of this we take the nine months reign of the emperor Jovianus to be an excellent demonſtration; whoſe great wiſdom, and admirable prudence in granting toleration, expreſly ſaying, 'He would have none 'moleſted for the exerciſe of their religion,' calmed the impetuous ſtorms of diſſention betwixt the *Homoouſians* and *Arrians*; and reduced the whole empire, before agitated with all kind of commotions during the reigns of Conſtantine, Conſtantius, and Julian, to a wonderful ſerenity and peace, as Socrates Scholaſticus affirms.

9. That little kingdom of Ægypt had no leſs than forty thouſand perſons retired to their private and ſeparate ways of worſhip, as Euſebius, out of Philo Judæus and Joſephus, relates.

10. And here let me bring in honeſt Chaucer, whoſe matter (and not his poetry) heartily affects me: it was in a time when prieſts were as rich and lofty as they are now, and cauſes of evil alike.

[a] *THE time was once, and may return again,*
(for oft may happen that hath been beforn)
when ſhepherds had none inheritance,
ne of land, nor fee in ſufferance,
But what might ariſe of the bare ſheep,
(were it more or leſs) which they did keep,
Well ywis it with ſhepherds tho':
nought having, nought fear'd they to forgo,
For PAN (God) himſelf was their inheritance,
and little them ſerv'd for their maintenance,
The ſhepherd's God ſo well them guided,
that of nought were they unprovided;

[b] *Butter enough, honey, milk, and whay,*
and their flock fleeces them to array.

[a] The primitive ſtate of things, obſerved by a poet, more than 300 years old; by which the clergy may read their own apoſtacy and character.

[b] Time and proſperity corrupted them, and then they grew ſtateſmen.

But trait of time and long proſperity,
(that nurſe of vice, this of inſolency)
Lulled the ſhepherds in ſuch ſecurity,
that not content with loyal obeyſance,
Some gan to gap for greedy governance,
and match themſelves with mighty potentates.

[c] Lovers of lordſhips and troublers of ſtates;
then gan ſhepherds ſwains to look aloft,
And leave to live hard, and learn to lig ſoft,
though under colour of ſhepherds ſame while
There crept in Wolves *full of fraud and guile,*
that often devour'd their own ſheep,
And often the ſhepherd that did them keep.

[d] *This was the firſt ſource of the ſhepherds ſorrow,*
that nor will be quit, with bale nor borrow.

11. Who knows not that our firſt reformers were great champions for Liberty of Conſcience? as Wickliff in his remonſtrance to the parliament; the Albigenſes to Lewis the 11th and 12th of France: Luther to the ſeveral diets under Frederick and Charles the fifth; Calvin to Francis the firſt; and many of our Engliſh martyrs, as the poor "Plowman's Famous "Complaint," in "Foxe's Martyrology," &c.

12. The preſent affairs of Germany plainly tell us, that toleration is the preſervation of their ſtates; the contrary having formerly almoſt quite waſted them.

13. The ſame in France: who can be ſo ignorant of their ſtory, as not to know that the timely indulgence of Henry the Fourth, and the diſcreet toleration of

[c] It was now they began to perſecute; they hated any that were more devout than themſelves: devotion was counted diſaffection; religious aſſemblies, conventicles; primitive-ſpirited Chriſtians, upſtart hereticks; thus the tragedy began, Cain ſlaying Abel about religion.

[d] He truly maketh their avarice the cauſe of their degeneration; for it is the root of all evil.

Richlieu

Richlieu and Mazarin, ſaved that kingdom from being ruined, both by the Spaniards and one another?

14. Holland, than which what place is there ſo improved in wealth, trade and power, chiefly owes it to her indulgence in matters of faith and worſhip.

15. Among the very Mahometans of Turkey and Perſia, what variety of opinions, yet what unity and concord is there? We mean in matters of a civil importance.

16. It was the opinion of that great maſter of the "ſentences," Dominicus à Soto, 'That every man 'had a natural right to inſtruct others in things that 'are good: and he may teach the goſpel-truths alſo, 'but cannot compel any to believe them; he may 'explain them: and to this, (ſays he) every man has 'a right,' as in his 4 Sent. diſt. 5. art. 13. pag. 115. 7.

17. 'Strifes about religion,' ſaid judicious and learned Grotius, 'are the moſt pernicious and deſtructive, 'where proviſion is not made for Diſſenters: the con-'trary moſt happy; as in Muſcovy.' He farther ſays, upon the occaſion of Campanella, 'That not a rigid, 'but eaſy government, ſuits beſt with the northern 'people.' He often pleads the relaxation of temporary laws to be reaſonable and neceſſary; as in the caſe of the *Curatii* and *Horatii*, and *Fabius Vitulanus*; and others ſtinted to time and place, as the Jewiſh laws, &c. Polit. Maxims, p. 12, 18, 78, 98.

18. The famous Raleigh tells us, 'That the way 'for magiſtrates to govern well, and gain the eſteem 'of their people, is to govern by piety, juſtice, wiſ-'dom, and a gentle and moderate carriage towards 'them: and that diſturbance attends thoſe ſtates, 'were men are raiſed, or depreſſed by parties.' See his obſervations and maxims of ſtate.

19. If I miſtake not, the French and Dutch Proteſtants enjoy their ſeparate ways of worſhip in London, if not in other parts of theſe lands, without moleſtation: we do the like in remote countries, "but not "in our own."

20. This muſt needs be the meaning of the learned doctor to his inquiſitive ſtudent, in their judicious dialogue about the fundamental laws of the kingdoms, when he ſays, 'That ſuch laws as have not their foundation in nature, juſtice and reaſon, are void, '*ipſo facto*' And whether perſecution or reſtraint upon conſcience be congruous with either, let the impartial judge. Lib. 1. chap. 6.

21. Doctor Hammond himſelf, and the grand patron of the Engliſh church, was ſo far from urging the legality of reſtriction in matters relating to conſcience, that he writ, argued, and left upon his dying-bed, his ſenſe to the contrary; as the author of his life might have been pleaſed to obſerve, but that intereſt ſtood in the way; the doctor exhorting his party, 'not to ſeek to diſplace thoſe then in the Univerſity, 'or to perſecute them for any matter of religious 'difference,'

22. That a perſon of no leſs ability, in the Iriſh Proteſtant church, did the ſame, I mean Dr. Jer. Taylor, his whole diſcourſe of "Liberty of Prophecy," is a moſt pregnant demonſtration.

23. It was the ſaying of a perſon once, too great to be named now, 'That Liberty of Conſcience is every 'man's natural right; and he who is deprived of it, 'is a ſlave in the midſt of the greateſt liberty: and 'ſince every man ſhould do as he would be done to, 'ſuch only do not deſerve to have it, that will not 'give it.'

24. Lactantius reflects upon perſecutors thus, 'If 'you will with blood, with evil, and with torments 'defend your worſhip, it ſhall not thereby be de-'fended, but polluted.' Lib. 5. cap. 20.

25. Hillary againſt Auxentius ſaith, 'The Chriſtian 'church does not perſecute, but is perſecuted.'

26. Jerom, thus; 'Hereſy muſt be cut off with 'the ſword of the ſpirit.' Proæm. lib. 4.

27. Chryſoſtom ſaith, 'That it is not the manner of 'the children of God to perſecute about their reli-'gion,

'gion, but an evident token of antichriſt.' Relig. Uriſ. pag. 192.

28. Stephen, king of Poland, declared his mind in the point controverted, thus; 'I am king of men, 'not of conſcience; a commander of bodies, not of 'ſouls.'

29. The king of Bohemia was of opinion, 'That 'men's conſciences ought in no ſort to be violated, 'urged, or conſtrained.'

30. And laſtly, let me add (as what is, or ſhould be now, of more force) the ſenſe of king James and Charles the Firſt, men famed for their great natural abilities and acquired learning, that no man ought to be puniſhed for his religion, nor diſturbed for his conſcience; in that it is the duty of every man to give what he would receive. 'It is a ſure rule in divinity 'ſaid king James, that God never loves to plant his 'church by violence and bloodſhed.' And in his Expoſition on Revel. 20. he ſaith, 'That *perſecution* is 'the note of a falſe church.' And in the laſt king's advice to the preſent king, he ſays, 'Take heed of 'abetting any factions: your partial adhering *to any 'one ſide*, gains you not ſo great advantages in ſome 'men's hearts, (who are prone to be of their king's 'religion) as it loſeth you in others, who think them-'ſelves and their profeſſion firſt deſpiſed, then perſe-'cuted by you.'

Again, 'Beware of exaſperating any factions, by 'the croſſneſs and aſperity of ſome men's paſſions, 'humours, or private opinions employed by you, 'grounded only upon their difference in leſſer mat-'ters, which are but the ſkirts and ſuburbs of religion; 'wherein a charitable connivance, and Chriſtian tole-'ration, often diſſipates their ſtrength, whom rougher 'oppoſition fortifies; and puts the deſpiſed and op-'preſſed party into ſuch combinations as may moſt 'enable them to get a full revenge on thoſe they 'count their perſecutors; who are commonly aſſiſted 'by that vulgar commiſeration which attends all 'that are ſaid to ſuffer under the notion of religion.'

'Always

'Always keep up *ſolid piety*, and thoſe fundamental 'truths which mend both hearts and lives of men, 'with impartial favour and juſtice. Your prerogative 'is beſt ſhewn and exerciſed in remitting, rather than 'exacting the rigour of laws; there being nothing 'worſe than legal tyranny.'

Now upon the whole, we aſk, what can be more equal, what more reaſonable, than Liberty of Conſcience; ſo correſpondent with the reverence due to God, and reſpect to the nature, practice, promotion, and rewards of the Chriſtian religion, the ſenſe of Divine Writ, the great privilege of nature, and noble principle of reaſon, the juſtice, prudence, and felicity of government, and, laſtly, to the judgment and authority of a whole cloud of famous witneſſes, whoſe harmony in opinion as much detects the unreaſonableneſs and incharity of perſecutors, as their ſavage cruelties imply an high contempt of ſolid determinations: of which number I cannot forbear the mention of two, whoſe actions are ſo near of kin to one another, and both to inhumanity, as the ſame thing can be to itſelf.

The firſt is a great lord of Buckinghamſhire, but ſo hearty a perſecutor of the poor Quakers, that rather than they ſhould peaceably enjoy the liberty of worſhipping God, (and to ſupply the county-defect of informers) he has encouraged a pair of ſuch wretches, that it had been a diſgrace for the meaneſt farmer to converſe with; one having been priſoner in Ayleſbury, for theft, and ſaid to have been burnt in the hand; and the other of a complexion not much leſs ſcandalous and immoral.

To give an undeniable teſtimony of their merit, once for all, I ſhall briefly relate a moſt notorious piece of perjury. They, ſuſpecting a religious aſſembly to be at a certain place in the ſame county, came; and finding one in reality, repaired to one they call Sir Thomas Clayton, and a juſtice; where they depoſed, 'That 'not only a meeting was at ſuch an houſe, but one

'Tho.

'Tho. Zachery and his wife were there;' who at the ſame time, as at the trial upon indictment for perjury at Ayleſbury was proved by ſufficient witneſſes from London, were then at that city; yet fined not only for being there, but for the ſpeaker alſo, though none ſpoke that day.

Upon the proſecution of theſe men, as perjured men, and by the law diſprivileged of all employ, and never to be credited more in evidence, ſeveral delays were made, much time ſpent, and not a little pains beſtowed, all in hopes of an exemplary ſucceſs, which proved ſo, but the wrong way; for the very laſt ſeſſions, when the matter ſhould have received an abſolute deciſion, and the attendants have been diſmiſſed (eſpecially on the ſcore of the witneſſes, that came from London the ſecond time, upon no other account) a letter was reported to have been writ from the aforeſaid lord, in favour of thoſe informers, to this purpoſe, 'That ſince Sir Tho. Clayton was not preſent, the 'buſineſs could not well be determined; but if the 'court would undertake the ending of it, he beſought 'them to be favourable to thoſe HONEST MEN.' If this be true, as ſaid, it is a moſt aggravated ſhame to nobility! What! to protect them from the laſh of the law, who went about to deſtroy truth, the life of it! it is a diſhonour to the government, a ſcandal to the country, and a manifeſt injury to an inoffenſive and uſeful inhabitant.

The other is as well known by his cruelty, as by his name, and he ſcarce deſerves another; however, he is underſtood by that of the Reading knight-errant, and always in armour for the devil; a man whoſe life ſeems to be whole BONNER revived. Hogeſtrant, the Popiſh Inquiſitor, could not hate Martin Luther more, than he does a poor Diſſenter; and wants but as much power, as he has will, to hang more than he has impriſoned. The laws made againſt Papiſts, he inflicts upon the Quakers; and makes it crime enough for a premunire, to have an eſtate to loſe.

The

The ſingle queſtion is not, 'Were you at ſuch a 'meeting?' (which the act intends) but, 'Will you 'ſwear?' (which it intends not). And women eſcape him as little for this, as thoſe of his own tribe do for ſome things elſe. But what of all things moſt aggravates the man's impiety, is the making a deviliſh ſnare of a Chriſtian duty; ſince ſuch as have come to viſit the impriſoned, have been impriſoned themſelves for their charity. So that with him it ſeems a current maxim, that thoſe muſt not come to ſee priſoners, and not be ſuch themſelves, who will not take the oath of allegiance to do it.

To relate the whole tragedy, would render him as bad, as the diſcourſe big; and the latter not leſs voluminous, than the former odious. But three things I ſhall obſerve:

Firſt, that he has crouded ſeventy-two perſons (of thoſe called Quakers) men and women, immodeſtly into jail, not ſuffering them to enjoy common conveniences. And for his diverſion, and the puniſhment of little children, he pours cold water down their necks.

Secondly, His impriſonments are almoſt perpetual. Firſt, he premunires them, without any juſt cauſe of ſuſpicion; then impriſons them; and laſtly plunders them, and that by a law enacted againſt Romaniſts: which, if all be true that is ſaid, is more his concern than theirs, if, without offence, it may be ſuppoſed he has any religion at all.

Thirdly, Some have been there about eight years; and ſhould be eighteen more, were he as ſure to live (being more than ſeventy) and enjoy his power, as doubtleſs he hopes to die before thoſe good laws overtake him that would make an example of ſuch an oppreſſor. In ſhort, wives, widows, poor and fatherleſs, are all fiſh for his net; and whether over or under age, he caſts none away, but ſeems to make it his privilege to correct law, by out-doing it. When we have ſaid all we can (and we can never ſay too much, if enough) he is ſtill his own beſt character.

Such

Such are the paſſions, follies, and prejudices, men devoted to a ſpirit of impoſition and perſecution are attended with.

Non enim poſſumus quæ vidimus, & audivimus, non loqui.

In ſhort, what religious, what wiſe, what prudent, what good-natured perſon, would be a perſecutor? Certainly it is an office only fit for thoſe, who being void of all reaſon, to evidence the verity of their own religion, fancy it to be true, from that ſtrong propenſity and greedy inclination they find in themſelves to perſecute the contrary. A weakneſs of ſo ill a conſequence to all civil ſocieties, that the admiſſion of it ever was, and ever will prove their utter ruin, as well as their great infelicity, who purſue it.

And though we could not more effectually expreſs our revenge, than by leaving ſuch perſons to the ſcope of their own humours; yet being taught to love and pray for our perſecutors, we heartily wiſh their better information, that (if it be poſſible) they may act more ſuitably to the good pleaſure of the eternal juſt God, and beneficially to theſe nations.

To conclude; Liberty of Conſcience, as thus ſtated and defended, we aſk, as our undoubted right by the law of God, of nature, and of our own country. It has been often promiſed; we have long waited for it; we have writ much, and ſuffered in its defence, and have made many true complaints, but found little or no redreſs.

However, we take the righteous holy God to record, againſt all objections that are ignorantly or deſignedly raiſed againſt us, That

1ſt. We hold no principle deſtructive of the Engliſh government.

2d. That we plead for no ſuch Diſſenter (if ſuch a one there be.)

3d. That we deſire the temporal and eternal happineſs of all perſons (in ſubmiſſion to the divine will of God); heartily forgiving our cruel perſecutors.

4thly,

4thly, and laſtly, We ſhall engage, by God's aſſiſtance, to lead peaceable, juſt and induſtrious lives amongſt men, to the good and example of all. But if, after all we have ſaid, this ſhort diſcourſe ſhould not be credited, nor anſwered in any of its ſober reaſons and requeſts, but ſufferings ſhould be the preſent lot of our inheritance from this generation; be it known to them all, that meet we muſt, and meet we cannot but encourage all to do (whatever we ſuſtain) in God's name and authority, who is Lord of Hoſts, and King of Kings; at the revelation of whoſe righteous judgments, and glorious tribunal, mortal men ſhall render an account of the deeds done in the body. And whatever the apprehenſions of ſuch may be concerning this diſcourſe, it was writ in love, and from a true ſenſe of the preſent ſtate of things, and time and the event will vindicate it from untruth. In the mean while, it is matter of great ſatisfaction to the author, that he has ſo plainly cleared his conſcience, in pleading for the "Liberty of other men's," and publicly borne his honeſt teſtimony for God, not out of ſeaſon to his POOR COUNTRY.

POSTSCRIPT.

A few brief Obſervations upon the late Act, and the uſual Terms of Acts of this Nature.

THAT which we have to ſay, relates either to the terms of the act, or the application of them to us. As to the terms of the act, they are theſe; "Seditious Conventicles, Seditious Sectaries, and "Meetings under colour or pretence of religion." P. 1.

1. SEDITIOUS, from SEDITION, imports as much as "Turbulent, Contentious, Factious, which ſows ſtrife "and

" and debate, and hazards the civil peace of the " government."

2. CONVENTICLE, " is a diminutive private aſſem- " bly, deſigning and contriving evil to particular " perſons, or the government in general." See LAMB. p. 173. In Tertullian's ſenſe, it is " an aſſembly of " immodeſt and unclean perſons;" at leaſt it was ſo taken in thoſe days, and objected againſt the Chriſtians as their practice, whom he defends. TER. APOL.

3. SECTARIES, " muſt be ſuch as disjoin or diſ-mem- " ber themſelves from the body of truth, and confeſs " to a ſtrange and untrue opinion. If any ſubject of " this realm, being ſixteen years of age, or upwards, " ſhall be preſent at any aſſembly, or conventicle, on " pretence of religion, &c," which can ſignify no " more than thus much, that true it is, ſome may " meet and aſſemble to worſhip God, and upon a " religious account, that are Diſſenters; ſuch we cen- " ſure not; but thoſe who, under colour or pretence " of any exerciſe of religion, conſpire, &c. they are " to be ſuſpected and proſecuted."—This being the true explanation of the terms of the act, we proceed to ſhew how unreaſonably they are applied to us.

1. Words are but ſo many intelligible marks and characters, ſet and employed to inform us of each others conceptions, and therein of the nature of thoſe things they ſtand for. Now becauſe we take the act to mean what it ſpeaks, and that the law concludes no man guilty upon conjectures, but from the detection of ſome fault; we affirm ourſelves altogether unconcerned in that word *Seditious*, becauſe it was never our practice, in words or actions, 'to diſturb the government, 'or ſuggeſt principles that might hatch conſpiracies, 'or feed the vulgar with diſaffection to their rulers;' but before the king's coming in, at his coming in, and ever ſince, notwithſtanding our frequent ſuffering, 'we have made it our buſineſs to heal animoſi- 'ties, preach forgiveneſs and charity amongſt men,' and that they would, by an hearty repentance, turn

to

to God, rather than hunt after revenge upon one another: therefore we aſſert, we have not done one thing that may be proved *Seditious*, in the ſenſe above-mentioned.

2. That we are ſtrangers to *Conventicles* is moſt evident; for where the parts that render it ſuch are wanting, there can be no conventicle: but that they are in our aſſemblies, appears; firſt, 'Becauſe our 'meetings are not ſmall. 2. Neither are they private 'or clandeſtine; but in the view of all people. Nor 'are they riotous, licentious, or otherwiſe immodeſt, 'or immoral; but on purpoſe to diſſuade perſons from 'ſuch impieties.' So that we are clear in the interpretation of the law, 13 H. 5. cap. 8. 19, and 19 H. 7. cap. 13, and in the ſenſe of the famous father Tertullian.

3. *Sectaries*, is a word, that whoſoever has but confidence enough to conceit himſelf in the right, by conſequence wants none to ſuppoſe the contrary in the wrong, and ſo to call him a *Sectary*. But this is but a mere begging of the queſtion; for to ſay thoſe are *Sectaries*, does not include them ſuch; nor does the act ſpeak ſo plainly of Diſſenters. But granting it did, yet they muſt be *Seditious* ones, or elſe all will be in vain. Where we may obſerve, that purely to be a *Sectary* is not what the act ſtrikes at, but to be a *Seditious* one: for a man may differ in judgment about matters of faith, from the national religion, and yet correſpond with the government in matters civil. So that the act upon the whole aims not at *Sectaries* ſimply, but they muſt be ſuch as are enemies to the civil conſtitution to be rendered *Seditious* ones, from which we have ſufficiently cleared ourſelves.

4. "That we meet under colour and pretence, and "not really, to worſhip God," we deny, and none can prove. It were high incharity to affirm poſitively, 'this or that people meet only under a colour of reli-'gion.' Yet unleſs the act had ſo expreſſed itſelf, we conceive their authority lame and imperfect that perſecute us by it. It will help but little to ſay, the king,

king, lords, and commons, by the following words, "In other manner than according to the liturgy of "the church of England," meant, that ſuch meet under a pretence that did not conform to that worſhip; ſince the precedent words ſay, "under colour or pre-"tence of any exerciſe of religion in other manner," &c. So that they are only ſtruck at, who are not ſincere Diſſenters; but that are ſuch, with deſign to carry on another end.

Obj. But may ſome ſay, 'It is granted, you have 'very evidently evaded the force of the act, ſo far as 'relates to theſe recited expreſſions. But what if a 'bill be ready, for an explanatory and ſupplementory 'act to the former, wherein this ſcope for argument 'will not be found; becauſe your meetings will 'be abſolutely adjudged ſeditious, riotous, and un-'lawful.'

To which we anſwer, That as the granting of the firſt, which none reaſonably can deny, is a manifeſt impeachment of ſuch as have violently proſecuted people for being preſent at religious aſſemblies (almoſt to their utter undoing) ſo ſhall we as eaſily anſwer the ſecond, which amounts to the force of an objection, and briefly thus:

Firſt, It is not more impoſſible for mankind to preſerve their ſociety without *ſpeech*, than it is abſolutely requiſite that the ſpeech be *regular* and certain. For, if what we call a *man*, a *lion*, a *whale*, to-day, we ſhould call a *woman*, a *dog*, a *ſprat* to-morrow; there would be ſuch uncertainty and confuſion, as it would be altogether impoſſible to preſerve ſpeech or language intelligible.

Secondly, It is not in the power of all the men in the world to reconcile an abſolute *contradiction*, to convert the nature of *light* into that of *darkneſs*, nor to enact a thing *to be* that which it *is not*: but that thoſe endeavour to do, who think of making our religious meetings routs and riots. For, 1. They offer violence

to our common propriety of language; it being the firſt time that ever a religious and peaceable aſſembly would be enacted a rout or riot. Nature, reaſon, the law of the land, and common practice and obſervation, give a clear contrary definition of a rout and riot. 2. They endeavour to reconcile contradictions; for they would have a thing that, which by nature it cannot be: for that which is peaceable cannot be riotous; and what is religious can never be ſeditious. For any to ſay, 'our meetings are not religious,' is not only a poor evaſion, but great incharity: for that is properly a religious aſſembly, where perſons are congregated with a real purpoſe of worſhipping God, by prayer, or otherwiſe, let the perſons met be eſteemed doctrinally orthodox, or not. Can any be ſo ignorant, or ſo malicious, as to believe we do not aſſemble to worſhip God, to the beſt of our underſtanding? If they think otherwiſe, they muſt, and do, aſſume unto themſelves a power beyond the arrogancy of the POPE himſelf, that never yet adventured to tell man his thoughts, nor the purpoſes and intents of his heart; which he, or they, muſt do, that definitively judge our aſſemblies (void of ſword or ſtaff, drum or muſket, tumult or violence, and circumſtantiated with all the tokens of Chriſtian devotion) a rout or a riot. And truly, if Proteſtants deny the legality of thoſe acts or edicts, which were contrived and executed in order to their ſuppreſſion, by the reſpective kings and parliaments that owned the Romiſh faith and authority, where they either did or do live, let them not think it ſtrange, if we on the ſame terms (namely, ſcruple of conſcience) refuſe compliance with their laws of reſtraint. And as the firſt reformers were no whit daunted at the black characters the Romaniſts faſtened on them, neither thought their aſſemblies, in a way of profeſſed ſeparation, the more unlawful for their repreſenting them ſuch; no more are we ſurprized or ſcared at the ugly phraſes daily caſt upon us by a ſort of men, that either do not know us, or would not that others ſhould:

for

for we are not ſo eaſily to be braved, menaced, or perſecuted out of our ſenſe, reaſon, and privilege.

They ſay, 'LOSERS have leave to ſpeak;' at leaſt we take it; none being greater loſers, than ſuch as, for diſſenting from national inſtitutions in point of faith or worſhip, are deprived of their common rights and freedoms, and hindered as much as may be from reverencing the God that made them, in that way which to them ſeems moſt acceptable to him.

To conclude; we ſay, (and by it let our intentions in our whole diſcourſe be meaſured) that we have not defended any Diſſenters, whoſe quarrel or diſſent is rather civil and political, than religious and conſcientious: for we really think ſuch unworthy of protection from the Engliſh government, who ſeek the ruin of it; and that ſuch as are contributors to the preſervation of it, (though Diſſenters in point of faith or worſhip) are unqueſtionably intituled to a protection from IT.

A SEASONABLE CAVEAT AGAINST POPERY:

Or, A PAMPHLET, intituled,

An EXPLANATION of the ROMAN CATHOLICK BELIEF,

BRIEFLY EXAMINED,

By WILLIAM PENN.

But in vain do they worſhip me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men, Matt. xv. 9.

Now as Jannes and Jambres withſtood Moſes, ſo do theſe alſo reſiſt the truth; men of corrupt minds, reprobates concerning the faith. 2 Tim. iii. 8.

TO

The ENGLISH PROTESTANT Reader.

WE hope it may not be too late to militate for truth againſt the dark ſuggeſtions of papal ſuperſtition.—Nor can we think that it ſhould be eſteemed Heterodox, for a diſſenting Proteſtant (whilſt almoſt gaſping for his own liberty) to vindicate that of reformation, from the quainteſt ſtratagems, and moſt unwearied endeavours, of Romiſh emiſſaries, to put both it and us into their inquiſition.

We know they have ſo far maſtered their ancient fierceneſs, and maſked their ſanguine looks with thoſe more modeſt and familiar, that though we need not

more reaſon than before, we need more ſkill and caution, or elſe we may too fatally experience the force of that vulgar proverb; "Laugh in thy face, and cut "thy throat."

They are grown ſo complaiſant, as none ſeem more exaſperated at perſecution than themſelves, (whilſt the very fathers of it) decrying the fierceneſs of ſome countries (whoſe incendiaries they were, and ſtill are) and imputingall the blood of poor Proteſtants to ſome unwarrantable civil ſcore, (therein abuſing the civil magiſtrate with the execution of their own conſpiracies): nay, for all their venerable eſteem of the Pope's infallibility, they have not ſtuck to cenſure his roaring bulls (though procured by their own means) and all that might expreſs their new tenderneſs; that many, unacquainted with their practices, are ready to believe them what they ſay themſelves to be; 'whoſe moral is to have two ſtrings to their bow, 'to be ambo-dexter, and furniſhed with meanings to 'ſuit the compaſs of all occaſions.'

In ſhort, I premiſe three things:

Firſt, That I cordially believe a great number of Romaniſts may be abuſed zealots, through the idle voluminous traditions of their church; whom I rather pity, than dare to wrong.

Secondly, That I deſign nothing leſs than incenſing of the civil magiſtrate againſt them (were ſuch a thing poſſible): for I profeſs myſelf 'a friend to an univer-'ſal toleration of faith and worſhip.'

Thirdly, That the pamphlet anſwered, being but one ſheet, I confine my examination to a narrow compaſs: and the rather, becauſe a more conſiderable diſcourſe is under my preſent enquiry; which, if Providence ſo order it, may ſpeedily be made publick.

However, let this go for preface to that larger tract; in which the Romaniſts may ſee both their ignorance in the marks of a true church, and their little ſhare or intereſt in thoſe they attribute to her as ſuch.

Penn, Buckinghamſhire, the 23d of the 11th Month, 1670.

W. P.

A SEA-

A

SEASONABLE CAVEAT

AGAINST

POPERY.

THOUGH to argue againſt a tribe of men, that eſteem *all* REASON *carnal*, and SCRIPTURES *imperfect*, might rightly be judged a mere beating of the air, and a taſk only to be enterprized by ſuch as are deſirous of no ſucceſs; yet to prevent thoſe who may be deceived, and if poſſible to reclaim ſuch as are; and laſtly, to clear mine own conſcience, (moſt of all in mine eye) I ſhall deſcend to conſider the *unſound*, as well as *untrue*, confeſſions of the Romaniſts in the pamphlet under examination.

I. Of the SCRIPTURES.

Papiſt. 'WE believe the Holy Scriptures to be 'of Divine Inſpiration, and Infallible 'authority; and whatſoever is therein contained to be 'the Word of God.' Page 1.

Anſw. Certainly theſe men muſt either think we are wholly ignorant of their principles, or we muſt needs conclude they have forſaken them. It is ſo manifeſt that they have robbed the ſcriptures of their authority, that the POPE has all; and they have then only any,

when he is pleaſed to ſtamp his *probatum eſt* upon them. That this is true, how frequent do we find the Romaniſts in their reflections upon the Proteſtants on this occaſion, 'That they had not known the ſcriptures to 'be ſuch; nay, they might have been as an idle tale 'to them, had they not been received, believed, and 'delivered down, as divine writ, by their church!' As if the ground of believing this to be true, and that to be falſe, had been as much that of true faith, as we know it, by ſad experience, to be the cauſe of that ſtupid ſuperſtition, and brutiſh zeal, which reign amongſt the abuſed Romaniſts. Beſides, if the ſcriptures be infallible, as they confeſs, why are thoſe doctrines and practices retained in the Romiſh church which moſt expreſsly oppoſe the ſenſe of ſcripture, upon the ſingle edicts of the Pope; as that of 'prohi-'biting prieſts to marry, and fleſh to be eaten upon 'certain days?' Of which the truly catholick apoſtle gives this definitive judgment, they are "the doc-"trine of devils." Nor are their practices, in lieu thereof, leſs diabolical; ſince their faſts are moſt uſually kept with 'exceſſive treats of wine and ſweetmeats;' and their prieſts are notoriouſly allowed to frequent ſtews, or to keep as many ſtrumpets as their purſe or luſt ſhall pleaſe; though it be a moſt cardinal offence, by marrying, to have one honeſt woman. But thoſe who travel Italy are not unacquainted with the Pope's gain, or taxes on ſuch places, for which they have his broad-ſeal, or open licence.

Perhaps ſome will ſay, 'Theſe are but minute mat-ters' (however good old Paul might zealouſly ſtile them doctrines of devils) and therefore we will inſtance in ſomething more important.' What think the Papiſts of their IMAGES? 'Tis true, that they ſay they do not adore them now; but we know what eſteem their firſt erectors put upon them, and the high value the Romiſh church places upon the inventors: and it is as impoſſible we ſhould give our eyes the lie, when we behold them macerating their breaſts and knees before thoſe unſenſible ſtocks and ſtones, as Romaniſts

are

are wont to think us moſt abſurd in crediting our ſenſes; as if that proverb were of no moment, 'Seeing is believing, or rather convincing.'

Alas, their popes, cardinals, friars, nunneries, holydays, with other points more doctrinal yet to be examined, whence came they? What ſcripture ever authorized ſuch practices in the Chriſtian church? Paul told the churches, "He had not been wanting to declare the whole counſel of God unto them;" and yet were they wholly ignorant of theſe things, and that for above three hundred years after.

Therefore we infer, that ſince there is that manifeſt jar betwixt this piece of their profeſſion, and their preſent practice, as well as doctrine, they have either relinquiſhed their former faith, or play the wretched impoſtors with the people. I wiſh the firſt, but fear the laſt.

Papiſt. 'But ſince in the ſcripture there are ſome 'things hard to be underſtood, which the unſtable 'wreſt to their own deſtruction; we therefore profeſs, 'for the end of controverſies, to ſubmit our judgment 'to that of the church in a free general council.

Anſw. A poor ſhift to invalidate ſcriptures, and entitle their own traditions to the honour of a rule, and as what moſt aptly ſhould decide all controverſies.

Peter's words, applied to render this pretence more plauſible, are miſerably miſapplied. The apoſtle only ſays, that Paul had writ to them concerning "the "long-ſuffering of God, that it was ſalvation; (the preſent ſubject handled by Peter) and that in thoſe epiſtles Paul had "ſome things hard to be under-"ſtood." But what were thoſe things? Not thoſe in controverſy betwixt us and the Papiſts, nothing being more notorious. And who were they that wreſted them, but the unlearned and unſtable, not in the wiſdom of this world, (that being ſcience, falſly ſo called!) but wicked and ungodly men? as the profuſe Atheiſt of the times, in his frequent abuſe of the ſcripture,

ture, by his ſcurrilous miſinterpretation of it. For as the wiſe man ſaid, "To fear God, is wiſdom," (or true learning) and "to depart from iniquity, that is "a good underſtanding;" and as Jeſus Chriſt ſaid, "They that do my will, ſhall know of my doctrine." How then can the Papiſts infer from hence, that the ſcriptures are imperfect, in the more fundamental points of faith and worſhip? Can it be the word of God, and yet wanting ſufficiency?

A free general council is a monſter, in the Romiſh church! How dare they talk ſuch language here in England, who know the ſeverity of the Jeſuits and Popiſh faction againſt it beyond the ſeas? What meant thoſe ill reſentments againſt White and Serjeant of England, and Welch of Ireland, in Rome, if this latitudinarian or new kind of popery had not diſguſted? Nor can I take it for an inſtance of their return; but as the next beſt ſtep to the exorbitancy of popiſh infallibility.

What ſhould a council be called for? That principles ſhould be received or diſowned? Then muſt a general council give faith, and underſtanding; or elſe men muſt be concluded to believe againſt their belief, by plurality of votes: a thing ridiculous, with half-witted people. If God's grace, and the ſcripture record, be not ſufficient, reaſon and experience tell us that general councils are much more inſufficient. Beſides, this were to uſher in all kind of impiety: for whatever intereſt in the general council (as that of Trent) concludes as requiſite to be received or done, that muſt indiſpenſably be obeyed: ſo that the moral or doctrinal good or evil of an act, or principle (in and from a man's own judgment) ſhall not be obliging; but he muſt be bound againſt his own ſenſe, reaſon, and faith.

The ſenſe of antiquity, and their own authors.

Their pretence of uſing tradition for a neceſſary ſupply to the defects of the ſcriptures, is a mere jug-

gle;

gle; ſince they only evade the clearneſs of the one, to ſhroud their defective doctrines under the abuſed antiquity of the other. For it is well known, that by their "Expurgatory indices," they have endeavoured to purge the works of the firſt fathers, of ſuch matters as might make to the overthrow of their ſuperſtitious doctrines. This is evident out of Junius, in the caſe of Bertram, elder than Theophylact, Oecumenius, &c. Bellarmine himſelf ſticks not to allow it, but ſhifts it off to an Arian.

This may be farther ſeen, in the collection Binius made of the fathers, pag. 28. 2 edit. an. 221. In ſhort, whole ſentences are put out, and whole ſentences put in. Much might be ſaid of this, but in my other diſcourſe I ſhall enlarge.

And what they mean by a free general council, we may read in the council of Trent, whoſe ſimony and cheats outdo all precedents.—Beſides, theſe men little dream of one Turrecremata, that in ſo many words tells us, 'The POPE is the foundation, rule, and prin-'ciple of FAITH:' (which is God's gift) 'for to him 'it belongs,' ſays that doctor, 'to be the meaſure, 'rule, and ſcience of things that are to be believed, 'and of things which are neceſſary to be believed un-'to life eternal.' *Turrecrem. lib.* 2. *cap.* 107. This is the ſting. Conſider the pope's intereſt; and what that is, ſuch will be his impoſitions: horrible ſlavery, and moſt unpardonable idolatry! For as he can make a new creed, or ſymbol of faith, ſo he can multiply new articles one upon another, ſays, Aug. *Triumphus extravag. de Urb. Qu.* 59. Art. 2. *Salmeron Prolog.* in com. in *Epiſt. ad Rom.* part 3. p. 176.

II. Of

II. Of the Bleſſed TRINITY: of Prayer to SAINTS and ANGELS.

Papiſt. 'WE humbly believe the ſacred myſtery 'of the Bleſſed Trinity, One Eter-'nal Almighty and Incomprehenſible God, whom only 'we adore and worſhip, as alone having ſovereign 'dominion over all things; to whom we acknow-'ledge, as due from men and angels, all glory, and 'ſervice, and obedience; abhorring from our hearts '(as a moſt deteſtable ſacrilege) to give our Creator's 'honour to any creature whatſoever.'

Anſw. Theſe fine words look newly ſtamped out of the Jeſuits mint. Were they as plain, as they are filled with equivocation, the Romaniſt would deceive us all in our opinion of him, concerning the point in controverſy. Obſerve his cunning.

His words of the Trinity are modeſt, neither highly ATHANASIAN, nor yet SOCINIAN, as ſome phraſe it, but calculated to both meridians. Yet how men can own God, and deny the expreſs rules of his Spirit, as moſt preciſely mentioned in the ſcriptures of truth, is to me a paradox. But how much the progenitors of the Romaniſts have been injurious to the Chriſtian faith, by their multiplied obſcure phraſes about the TRINITY, is not unknown to ſome.

He thinks to clear himſelf of *imagery*, but plainly catches himſelf in his own reſervations. What honour does he give to God? 'That which is due to 'him, as having ſovereign dominion over all things.' He does not ſay that none is due to ſaints or angels. 'They abhor to give their Creator's honour to any 'creature;' but do they deny to give any divine honour to images, or the repreſentations of ſaints and angels? Of this they are ſilent, but we know they do it.

Papiſt.

Papiſt. 'And therefore we ſolemnly proteſt, that 'by the prayers we addreſs to angels and ſaints, we 'intend no other than humbly to ſolicit their aſſiſt-'ance before the throne of grace: not that we hope 'any thing from them as *original authors*, but from 'God tnrough Jeſus Chriſt, our only Mediator and 'Redeemer.'

Anſw. It were endleſs to bring the contradictions of their own authors, to the ſenſe theſe words ſeem to import; and yet they are ſo laid as to admit of various conſtructions; an art they are greatly maſters of.

Firſt, What ground have they to believe that ſuch ſolicitations have ſuch effects? The ſcriptures are ſilent in the caſe; nor was it the practice of ſeveral ages after that of the apoſtles. So that it is neither warrantable by the ſcripture, nor the moſt unſpotted tradition.

Nor do we ſay, that the Papiſts ever held thoſe images to have any virtue ſimply from within themſelves, but that GOD was the original author: yet their own words imply, they may be *mediate* authors of benefit to us.

And what is it but to contradict themſelves, to ſay, 'They own but one Mediator, Chriſt Jeſus;' and yet to allow a mediating power to ſaints and angels, at the throne of grace? If people will be phraſed out of their religion, they may. But ſuch deſerve to be Papiſts, who have ſo mean an opinion of their own underſtandings, as to embrace theſe croſſing confeſſions for ſincere articles of faith.

The ſenſe of ANTIQUITY.

Images of old were not admitted to be in churches (ſo called); Simon Magus being their moſt notorious founder, and by whoſe example they were firſt reverenced. The Gnoſticks, and Carpocratians, are charged with this Popiſh veneration, as hereticks, in *Theodoret, lib.* 1. *Auguſt. Hæret. Fabul.*—*Irænæus de Hæreſ.*

Hæreſ. lib. 1. *cap.* 23. 'It is forbidden to us to uſe 'that deceitful art,' ſaid Clemens Alexandrinus, more than 1300 years ago, *lib.* 6. *Strom.* The pictures of what was worſhipped were prohibited to be painted on the walls, or that there ſhould be any images in churches (ſo called.) Thus in the council of Eliberis, *Placuit picturas in eccleſiâ eſſe non debere; ne quod colitur, aut adoratur, in parietibus depingatur*, Con. 36. So Auguſt. de Morib. Eccleſ. lib. 1. cap. 24.

III. Of Juſtification of MERITS.

Papiſt. 'WE firmly believe that no force of na-'ture, nor dignity of our beſt works, 'can merit juſtification; but we are juſtified freely 'by grace, through the redemption that is in Chriſt 'Jeſus.'

Anſw. The Roman catholick is ſo far from firmly believing what he ſays, that upon his own avowed principles he believes nothing firmly. Can any ſober perſon think, that to be juſtified for the ſake of works, is to be juſtified by grace? If ſo, contradictions are moſt reconcileable, and darkneſs may not unaptly be termed light. This is the very caſe that Paul of old ſtrenuouſly argued againſt the *meritorians* of his time, "If of grace, then not of works; if of works, then "not of grace."

It is to mock the world to ſay, 'That Romaniſts 'expect to be juſtified by grace,' who have for ages impleaded that doctrine, as dangerous and heretical. Bellarmine, in his diſcourſe of this point, is moſt plain, and more modern authors follow his ſteps. But they ſay,

Papiſt. 'All other merits (according to our ſenſe 'of that word) ſignify no more than actions done by 'the aſſiſtance of God's grace, to which he has pro-'miſed a reward.—Thus we believe the merit or re-'wardableneſs

'wardableneſs of holy living (both which ſignify the 'ſame with us) ariſes not from the ſelf-value even of 'our beſt actions, as they are ours, but from the grace 'and bounty of God.'

Anſw. Methinks theſe men are run to a narrow ſtrait, who venture to reconcile *merits* and *grace:* they cannot wholly be divorced from *merits*, and yet would they fain eſpouſe *grace*; and by ſeeking to wed both, they do not a little manifeſt their own palliated deſigns: for either they muſt confeſs themſelves, and all their anceſtors moſt ignorant perſons, that they could never find any diſtinction betwixt merit and grace before; or elſe they would retain the force of their meritorious opinions, under their more general conceſſion of God's grace: a way of evading, they are not a little ſkilled at.

Nor is there leſs difference betwixt *merit* and *rewardableneſs*, as they phraſe it, than betwixt the middle and the end. Grace and merit, as ſtated by Calviniſts and Papiſts, are taken for "faith without "works," and "works without faith;" like the two poles: doctrines the moſt oppoſite. Now *rewardableneſs* is neither; but ſomething in the middle; and indeed the moſt true: for *grace* is a *free gift*, requiring nothing: *merit* is a work proportioned to the *wages: rewardableneſs* is a work without which God will not beſtow his favour, and yet not the meritorious cauſe; for that there is no proportion betwixt the work, that is finite and temporary; and the reward, which is infinite and eternal: in which ſenſe both the creature obeys the commands of God, and does not *merit*, but *obtain* only, and God *rewards* the creature, and yet ſo as that he *gives* too. But the Papiſts are very far from this medium; and their ſhuffling this doctrine of merit betwixt *grace* and *rewardableneſs*, only ſhews how unwilling they are to venture it in the plain field, and not that any thing of reſemblance is betwixt it and them, they being of three diſtinct natures and ſignifications.

Beſides,

Beſides, it is wretched to think by what ways the abuſed Romaniſts fancy to merit juſtification; not by keeping the moral law (as we ſhall ſhew anon); not by fulfilling the evangelical precepts; but by their vain repetitions 'of their Ave Maria's, beads, faſts, 'feaſts, holy days, adoration of images, frequenting 'of maſſes, praying to the *dead*; invoking the Virgin 'Mary for her interceſſion; ſigning themſelves with 'the croſs; abſtaining from fleſh, and prieſts from 'marriage; by perpetrating ſome notorious fact for 'the good of their church, whether by killing a 'prince, or blowing up a ſtate.' Theſe, and the like practices (ſtrange and exotic to the primitive and Chriſtian faith and worſhip) are the grand motives to juſtification; and ſometimes they have gone ſo high, as to deſerve a canonizing at Rome itſelf. Thus briefly have I given an account of their merits of juſtification.

IV. Of the Holy EUCHARIST.

Papiſt. 'IN the holy euchariſt, or moſt venerable 'ſacrament of the body and blood of our 'Lord; we acknowledge that there are, as in all 'other ſacraments, two things: the viſible ſign, 'which is the forms of bread and wine, to which no 'Catholic may, or doth, direct his worſhip. There 'is alſo inviſible grace ſignified, the body of our 'Lord; whom, being preſent, we worſhip with all 'poſſible reverence for ſo great a bleſſing, warranted 'herein by our Bleſſed Lord himſelf in two of the 'goſpels.'

Anſw. Above all other inſtances, this is the moſt pregnant for defence of our aſſertion; namely, That either theſe men have relinquiſhed their old doctrine, or elſe they go about to put the trick upon us. We hear no word at all of *tranſubſtantiation* herein, the moſt ſacred of their myſterious abſurdities, but what

we

we are at great pains to obſerve and collect. Perhaps they are aſhamed of it, and willing it ſhould paſs under ſome more general phraſe, and leſs offenſive. However, by that expreſſion of the 'body of our Lord, 'whom being preſent, we adore,' we gueſs their meaning; but how incoherent with their own words, as well as reaſon, may eaſily appear.

Firſt, They acknowledge that it is a *ſacrament*, or ſign. If ſo, it is impoſſible that it ſhould be, at the ſame time, both the *ſign*, and the *thing ſignified*: for if the very body of Chriſt be preſent CORPORALLY, (as they uſe to aſſert) it cannot be *ſacramentally* ſo, but really and corporally there; which is deſtructive of the *nature* of a *ſacrament*, which is but the *repreſentative*, or *image*, of ſomething myſtical, thereby reſembled and ſignified.

Secondly, If this doctrine were true, their LORD would be made by their *prieſt*: for till he ſays the words, there is no real preſence: and ſo the *creature* (and ſometimes a ſad one too) makes his CREATOR! Which is nothing ſhort of wretched blaſphemy.

Thirdly, The Lord they adore and reverence, they EAT; and He that made heaven and earth, is comprehended of the *creature*.

Fourthly, I know but of ONE goſpel, perhaps they know of two, becauſe they ſeem to own principles ſo contrary to the true one; but let that other be accurſt! If they would have us underſtand by their expreſſion, two of the *evangeliſts*, then it is not unlikely but we may ken their meaning; and what they refer to muſt be Chriſt's benediction of the bread and wine, and the giving them both to his diſciples, ſaying, "Take, this is my body;" and "take, this is "my blood." But what then? Can any think that Chriſt gave his body *with* his *body*? That it was the *giver* and the *gift*? That it was the body *bleſſing*, and the body *bleſt*? Did the ſame body *hold* the ſame body in its own *fingers*? And was it *eaten* by the diſciples, and yet *without them*? And was it *no bigger* than *a ſmall piece of bread*, and yet of the proportion of a *man*?

And was it *inſenſible*, and *broken* with their *mouths*, and yet *whole* and *ſenſible* OUT of them; and all at the *ſame inſtant of time?*

Laſtly, Could *every one* of the twelve *eat* the VERY WHOLE BODY, and yet that VERY BODY be *viſible* with them? And all this while *one* and the *ſame* body? But methinks I hear echoing from ſome popiſh zealot, no ſmall anathema, for offering to affront ſo ſacred a myſtery with ſo many carnal cavils, and vain interrogatories!

To whom I ſhall anſwer once for all, in this point, that I ſtand amazed, how any man of ſenſe can be a Papiſt; when the only demonſtration of his religion, muſt be his not underſtanding it.

Many fond abſurdities unmentioned (for brevity) might have been obſerved: for 'REASON never triumphed more over any opinion, than this ſenſeleſs one of tranſubſtantiation;' which may be one very good argument why ſo much perſecution has ever attended the diſbelief of it.

The ſenſe of antiquity, and their own authors.

Antiquity knows it not. For eight hundred years after Chriſt it was never heard of; and when ſtarted, with great diſguſts entertained.

The council of Lateran was the firſt that undertook to impoſe it: and the decrees, as to this point, were wholly abortive; for they are not to be found as *conciliary*. This was above twelve hundred years after Chriſt.

Tertullian againſt Marcion, *lib.* 4. *cap.* 40. Juſt. Mart. againſt Tryphon the Jew. Greg. Nazianz. *Orat.* 2. *in Paſh.* and Pope Gelaſius himſelf renounced and diſclaimed it, attributing only to it, 'The nature of a bare figure, as retaining the ſubſtance and nature of bread and wine.' And many of their doctors, Scotus, Bellarmine, Biel, &c. aſſure us of its novelty.

But

But how far are ſuch from the ſpirituality of the myſtery and knowledge of the true heavenly bread and wine that deſcended from above, (the anti-type) who ignorantly affirm the certainty of ſuch a tranſubſtantiation, as renders that very viſible elementary bread and wine, at the ſame time, the very inviſible, ſpiritual, and glorified body of Chriſt? By which they make him a glorified, *crucified*, viſible, *inviſible*, ſpiritual, *elementary* Chriſt, all at the ſame time! But more of this in my larger tract.

V. Of COMMUNION in One Kind.

Papiſt. 'WE humbly confeſs, that from the be-
'ginning of Chriſtianity, the holy
'communion was adminiſtered frequently in both,
'and ſometimes in each kind, according to ſeveral
'circumſtances.'

Anſw. We may know him to be a Papiſt, by his frequent confeſſions: and methinks it ſhould not only prevent people from being ſeduced by them, but reduce thoſe of their own way to an utter abhorrence of ſo much allowed apoſtacy.

How many times has he confeſſed this, that, and the other thing, not to be of primitive practice and inſtitution? If the ancient Chriſtians did commune in both kinds, upon what better reaſons or motives was it ſo ſeverely prohibited by Romaniſts? Is the blood of leſs virtue than the body? Even that which the ſcripture frequently commemorates after this manner, "The blood of cleanſing; and ſaved by faith in his "blood." But they proceed farther, and ſay,

Papiſt. 'Hence the holy church, following the
'piety of Chriſtians, who inſenſibly became accuſ-
'tomed to receive it almoſt univerſally in one kind,
'upon great motives did afterwards ordain to have it

'in one, as now adminiſtered; though the receiving 'of it ſo is not matter of faith.'

Anſw. Three things are very obſervable from this part of their confeſſion.

1. 'That becauſe it was ſometimes received in one 'kind according to circumſtances, it inſenſibly be-'came received by holy church but in one kind.' More nonſenſe and falſhood could not well be in ſo many words. [Nonſenſe], For what conſequence can the latter words be to the former? If in *each* kind, then not any one more than the other: or why not blood, and not bread; as well as bread, and not blood? But among the Papiſts, the people only partake of the wafer. [Falſhood], For they neither have, nor can they give one inſtance of that ſlippery or heedleſs way of receiving it, as in *each* kind; but whenever it was taken, for three hundred years together, it was in *both* kinds.

And what were thoſe circumſtances, that we can hear of none of them? Horrible cheats, and idle impoſtures, to delude the unlearned and unſtable! Nor is it leſs impudence for them to ſay, 'That the 'church received it but in one kind upon any ſuch 'ſcore.' The concluſion can never be right, where the premiſes are falſe.

2. 'That upon great motives, it was afterwards or-'dained to be received but in one kind:' which great motives they keep to themſelves. Either they muſt think us ſuch fools as to credit them hand over head, and ſo needed not to mention them; or elſe, they doubting their great motive to be downright diſſuaſives with all ſober and intelligent people, choſe rather to be ſilent, than more particular.

3. 'That the ſo receiving it is no matter of faith;' which is ſo notorious an untruth, as their own *annals* expreſsly tell us, that Boniface the 8th, and John the 22d, (if I miſtake not; for I was, when I met the pamphlet, deſtitute of ſuch books) highly contradicted one

one another: one threatening the prieſts to turn them out, if they did not adminiſter it in *both* kinds; and the other, to excommunicate them, if not burn them, in caſe they *did*. Which as it ſhews the eagerneſs of the popes, ſo there is a choice piece of *infallibility* to be obſerved: 'two *infallible* popes accuſing each other of groſs *fallibility*.

Papiſt. 'Neither do we believe religious communicants are hereby bereaved of any benefit in obeying the church's order; ſince our belief inſtructs us, 'that our Bleſſed Lord is equally preſent in one kind, 'as in both.'

Anſw. To ſay that religious communicants are not bereaved of any benefit by receiving it in one kind, would imply, that irreligious communicants, the receivers of *both* kinds, have the advantage. If ſo, methinks it is natural to believe, that religious communicants, in both kinds, have the moſt benefit. But what church is it that gives thoſe orders? 'A free 'general council of Chriſtians, where men may ſpeak 'without being in danger of their lives?' No, but a cabal of perſons, picked, with a *probatum eſt* ſtamped upon them, out of the pope's cloſet, or conclave of cardinals, before they be admitted into the aſſembly of judges; as moſt of the council of Trent notoriouſly were (often cited by the author of this pamphlet). So that in plain terms, 'The church is what 'the pope and his cardinals will have it:' to whoſe intereſt moſt councils have ſacrificed their privileges, and thereby brought univerſal bondage upon whole kingdoms and ſtates.

That belief which inſtructs them, 'That Chriſt is '*equally* preſent, and therefore no need of receiving 'in *both* kinds,' muſt needs be built upon the ſandy foundation of papal tradition; not that of ſcripture, reaſon, or antiquity. For if that very ſpecifical and numerical virtue which is in the bread, be in the wine,

then Chriſt is implicitly charged, by the Romaniſts, of an unneceſſary matter. But if there be ſome virtue ſignified by the wine, more than by the *bread*, 'It is 'horrid ſacrilege to rob the *ſign*, much more the *thing* 'ſignified. It is a *ſupper*; and at ſupper there ſhould 'be *to drink*, as well as *to eat*. There can be no body 'without blood; and the *drinking* of his *blood* ſhews 'a *ſhedding* of his blood for the world, and a *partici-* 'pation of it.'

Beſides, the ſign is incomplete; and the end of that ſacrament or ſign not fully anſwered, but plainly maimed; and what God hath put together, they have put aſunder. So that the falſeneſs and unſcriptural practice of theſe men are very manifeſt.

The ſenſe of antiquity, and their own authors.

Of their diſmembering this ſign or figure, their own council of Conſtance is very plain, 'That whereas 'ſome preſume to affirm, that Chriſtian people ought 'to receive the ſacrament of the euchariſt under both 'kinds of bread and wine,' &c.

(Hence the council decrees againſt this error): 'And that though Chriſt did ſo adminiſter it, and 'although in the primitive church it was received,' (confeſſions very large of the author, and example) 'we command, under excommunication, that no 'prieſt communicate to the people under both kinds 'of bread and wine.' C. C. Seſſ. 13. So ſays Aquin. Com. in 6 John, lect. 7.

And ſaid pope Gelaſius, 'Let them receive in both 'kinds, or neither.' Thus popes againſt councils, and doctor againſt doctor: yet will the fooliſh Roman-iſts (to ſay no more) vaunt of the unity and infalli-bility of both.

VI. Of the Sacrifice of the Altar.

Papiſt. 'THE holy ſacrifice indeed of the altar, 'we clearly believe ought to be cele-'brated in both kinds, as now it is, according to the 'divine inſtitution, as being done in commemoration 'of the Lord's bleſſed paſſion on the croſs, wherein 'the body and blood were ſeparated.'

Anſw. Whether it be fair for the Papiſts to ſacrifice at the altar in both kinds, and refer to Chriſt's words, Luke xxi. 9. as a divine inſtitution, and yet deny both kinds to the people, as no matter of faith, or of eminent regard; let the ſober judge. Is the paſſage of divine inſtitution for the ſacrifice, and not for the ſacrament? But it plainly manifeſts the exorbitant power they aſcribe to their church above the ſcriptures; ſince with them an order of her's may, and ought, to break what themſelves call a divine inſtitution.

Papiſt. 'Whatſoever, therefore, propitiatory power 'our holy religion attributes to this commemorative 'ſacrifice; it is by virtue of the ſacrifice of the croſs, 'as being by this applied to us: ſo that we ſtill hum-'bly acknowledge the ground of our ſalvation to be 'derived from our Lord's bleſſed paſſion.'

Anſw. Their affront to God, and juggle with men, in this very matter, are moſt deteſtable! For notwithſtanding the ſcriptures expreſsly tell us, that we have an High Prieſt that "needs not ſacrifice once a year," but "who hath offered One ſacrifice; and that, "by the will of God we are ſanctified through the "offering of the body of Jeſus Chriſt ONCE for all; "and that by ONE offering he perfected them that "are ſanctified," Heb. x. 10, 11, 14; yet do they daily ſacrifice him afreſh, as if his firſt were inſufficient, or their daily ſins required a new one. But

what man, endued with the leaſt ſhare of common ſenſe, can be ſo ſtupid as to imagine, 'that Chriſt is 'ſacrificed by every popiſh prieſt, when he offers up 'a *bloodleſs fleſhleſs wafer?*' What greater irreverence can be ſhewn to the bitter paſſion of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt? Making ſuch a may-game of his moſt dreadful agony and cruel death, as the Jews did with a crucified child!

This is ſo much worſe than the *Aaronical* prieſthood, as that was before Chriſt, and ſo typical of his coming, and of divine authority; and this after his coming; whoſe own words and the apoſtle's (whom theſe men pretend to ſaint, and own) bear record, "That "*ONCE* for all, and by *ONE* offering of himſelf," &c. And conſequently void of all commiſſion, as well as precedent.

The cheat they put upon men is plainly this, That whilſt with fine words they ſeem originally to ground their ſalvation upon Chriſt's ſacrifice of the croſs, they craftily attribute to their daily ſacrifice of him, 'no 'ſmall ſhare of merit, as ſo many mediate and ſecon-'dary cauſes;' which muſt needs be obvious to every unbiaſſed reader. Their curious epithets ſeem only to ſerve the place of ſo many covers for the malignity of their ſophiſtical doctrines.

VII. Of Prayer in Latin.

Papiſt. 'WE freely acknowledge that it is no ways 'commanded by the church, that the 'people ſhould pray in a language they underſtand 'not.'

Anſw. I perceive the man is ſtill upon his free acknowledgments. Certainly if what he ſo often confeſſes not to have been the practice of the primitive church, and to be unwarrantable from her example, were

were but abſtracted, there would remain a very abrupt and narrow faith for the Romaniſts to explain.

But he is too equivocal upon the word *church*. If by it he would have us underſtand the *ancient Chriſtian church*, it is true, that no prayers were made in an unknown tongue; for the ſcriptures, of divine authority with her, expreſsly condemn it, as irregular, and unprofitable.

"Let ſuch keep ſilent," ſaid the apoſtle Paul, 1 Cor. xiv. 28. and Peter never contradicted him. But if by the church he underſtands the Roman, he is either careleſs of his own reputation (that whilſt he makes the moral law the ninth head of his confeſſion, commits ſo great an error againſt it, as to obtrude a lie) or elſe he truſts to our ignorance of her preſent practice; for that ſhe is guilty in this particular, and the point defended too, I recommend the reader to the following authorities.

Papiſt. 'Nay, there is given them all poſſible encouragement to increaſe their devotions, by ordaining and publiſhing moſt excellent prayers in vulgar languages for their uſe. There is an expreſs command of our holy mother the church, in the council of Trent, that paſtors, in the time of divine ſervice, ſhould expound to the people's capacities,' &c.

Anſw. I ſhall return my anſwer in theſe four particulars.

Firſt, That all poſſible encouragement is not given where more may: but that more may, view SPAIN, FRANCE, and ITALY, where prayers are in Latin, unknown to many millions of ſouls. And let us remark it, for a more infallible truth than any the pope's chair can afford us, That the great depth of the policy and ſecurity of that religion, lies in the ignorance and ſtupidity of the people.

Secondly, No thanks to the Romaniſts, that the people have any where ſo much privilege, at any time

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to underſtand what they ſay: for this is only owing to the light of Reformation; for that having given a diſcovery of the groſs darkneſs of popiſh practices, they were neceſſitated to move ſomewhat from their ancient cuſtoms; which is no better than a lame excuſe made by a thief caught in the fact. Had there been no Luther in Germany, nor Zwinglius in Switzerland, we could not expect, nor ever believe, that the council of Trent would have allowed of that liberty; when to cloud the people, and to lock up their underſtandings in the pope's arcanum, is the Dianian project of his conclave.

It is worth our obſervation, that thoſe very books of devotion are never doctrinal, I mean explanatory of their principles (thoſe they hide); but filled with elegant phraſes, and rare cuts of imagery, ſuited to the affectionate paſſions and voluntary humilities of a ſort of people, whoſe judgment goes always in the rear of their affections, and that make their religion of ſhews and compliments.

Fourthly, But I deny that they have the nature of prayer in them; and therefore the people are almoſt as much to ſeek in their own language, as a ſtrange one. "Prayer is the gift of God:" no man can be ſaid to pray, who has not, firſt, a deep ſenſe of his own wants: ſecond, of the reaſonableneſs of the thing prayed for: third, enough of faith to obtain: fourth, a due reverence of that God to whom he makes his ſupplication; "for the prayers of the wicked are an "abomination to the Lord," ſays the divine writ (or are no prayers at all, in a religious ſenſe). But if theſe books of devotion were prayers, then might the wicked as well pray as the righteous; for the prayer is equally expoſed to the uſe of both. It is not words that make the prayer; wherefore ſaid the apoſtle, "I will "pray with the ſpirit," (there is the moſt eſſential part of prayer; but this he might do with none but himſelf;) "and I will pray with underſtanding alſo:" (by this he meant, not in an unknown tongue): it was the ſubject of his diſcourſe in his fourteenth chapter

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in his firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians. But the church of Rome has otherwiſe learnt, than had that good apoſtle.

In ſhort, we need the leſs wonder at the unparallelled villainy which reigns throughout the papacy, when we conſider how cardinal a practice it is for the people not to underſtand how to be better. Their late proſelytes forgot, or elſe never heard, how criminal it was to have an Engliſh Teſtament about one hundred and fifty years ſince. But rather than not, the Papiſts will turn half-proteſtants, to fetch back Proteſtants to be whole Papiſts again. But ſuch might deſerve to be begged, had they but as much of religion, as ſometimes fools uſe to have of eſtate. What ſhall I ſay? They are fit to believe any thing, whoſe debaucheries have hardened them againſt any belief: when ſin has baniſhed all fear of God, intereſt ſteps in its place; and that religion which moſt promotes it, muſt with ſuch be the beſt; wherein the Papiſt has only the advantage of all others upon earth.

The report of antiquity and their own practice.

However in Proteſtant countries they are willing to bring their devotion into vulgar languages; yet that it is matter of neceſſity, and not of choice, view Italy, France, Spain, &c. where they retain their Latin ſervice, as beneficial to the people; which is a language that generally they underſtand not.

Origen was againſt it, *lib.* 8. *cont. Celſ.* So *Chryſoſt. Hom.* 1. *in* 8 *Johan. Auguſt. de doct. Chriſti, cap.* 5. *Ambroſe upon* 1 *Cor.* xiv. Thus alſo their own doctors; *Aquin. in* 1 *Cor.* xiv. *Caſſander, Liturg. cap.* 18. So that they err from ſcripture, fathers, and their own doctors.

VIII. Of

VIII. Of Prayer for the Dead.

Papiſt. 'OUR faith teaches us to exerciſe Chriſ-
'tian charity, by humbling ourſelves
'before the divine throne of God's mercy, to beg
'forgiveneſs of the debts and treſpaſſes of thoſe mid-
'dle ſort of Chriſtians (as St. Auſtin and the council
'of Florençe call them) who had not brought forth
'ſufficient fruits of repentance, dying in the commu-
'nion of the faithful: which indigent condition of
'theirs, relievable by the churches, or the prayers of
'the faithful ſurviving, ſpeaks what the ancients call
'purgatory.'

Anſw. How much the Romiſh faith teaches the holders of it to exerciſe Chriſtian charity, the MARTYROLOGIES of theſe thouſand years may teſtify. But they would have you know, they do not intend ſuch perſons as were active in thoſe bloody maſſacres: for the ſingle merit of their horrid murders is ſupererogatory, or more than ſufficient to deliver them from the fiery furnace of a cleanſing purgatory. They took a ſhorter cut to heaven; for inſtead of travelling the main continent, they (blown with the freſh gale of their own cruelty) ſailed through the main ſea of Proteſtant blood.

But what authorities have theſe men for their aſſertion? Firſt, St. Auſtin; and ſecondly, the council of Florence. To theſe I will ſpeak in the cloſe of this head. Are theſe all? No, for ſays he:

Papiſt. 'We are warranted herein by the practice
'under the law, recorded in the *Maccabees*; which
'being in no ſort reprehended by our Lord, or his
'apoſtles, amongſt the reſt of the Jews unlawful
'practices, was and is juſtly preſumed to have been
'allowed by him, as many of the fathers underſtood
'him in the mount; and by them, as is hinted by
'St. Paul: whereupon it hath been continued ever
'ſince,

'ſince, as even grave-ſtones, and all other Chriſtian 'monuments, do witneſs.'

Anſw. I muſt confeſs I do not wonder that ſo little reaſon ſhould induce a Romaniſt to believe; than which, nothing ſcares him more. But I cannot otherwiſe than admire, that any Proteſtant ſhould make ſuch poor inſtances a ground of his return to popery.

Firſt, His ſtory of the Maccabees is not cited; nor does he very plainly refer us.

Secondly, He knows the Proteſtants deny it the credit due to other ſcriptures; and the Papiſts cannot but be conſcious to themſelves of inſufficiency to prove its canon.

Thirdly, It is prepoſterouſly ſilly to ſay, that becauſe Chriſt did not particularly condemn 'the prac-'tice of praying for the dead,' (ſuggeſted to have been uſed by the Maccabees) therefore it was a laudable cuſtom: ſince I may with equal reaſon argue, that becauſe Chriſt never mentioned the Maccabees, nor did particularly own the canon of their writings, 'therefore there was no ſuch people; and their writ-'ings (if any) of no authority.'

Fourthly, The fathers ſenſe (if theirs) of theſe ſcriptures, Mat. v. 29. 1 Cor. xv. 29. muſt needs be nonſenſe in the abſtract, with all but Papiſts, who notoriouſly deny themſelves the uſe of ſenſe: although I am of opinion, the fathers are much abuſed by the author of this confeſſion, or elſe we ſhould have had their names in capitals. However, we will compare theſe paſſages with this opinion.

Firſt, "If thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out, "and caſt it from thee; for it is profitable for thee, "that one of thy members ſhould periſh, and not "that thy whole body ſhould be caſt into hell fire." Mat. v. 29. *Ergo* what? 'That there is a purgatory 'after this life,' ſays the Romaniſt. O! ſtupendous folly and weakneſs! Is there any thing plainer, than that Chriſt preached a preſent practical doctrine? as

that

that which ſtood every man upon in this world; viz. the denial of his luſts, and circumciſion of his corruptions. In ſhort, ſince Chriſt was in the world when he ſpake it; ſince it was to people in the world, and a work then to be ſet about; it is moſt evident the paſſage has no relation to a ſtate after this life (I mean for purgation). Nay, the ſtrongeſt argument that is well conceivable for the contrary, may eaſily be deduced from hence: for if ſuch as pluck not out their right eyes here, (that is, purge not themſelves of their iniquities, by unfeigned repentance) ſhall be caſt into hell fire; then there is no middle ſtate called purgatory. But that ſuch perſons as pluck not out their right eyes (that is, mortify not their members of corruption) here, are to be caſt into hell fire, the text proves: therefore there is no middle ſtate. The contrary, of heaven, may be affirmed; for *contrariorum eadem eſt ratio.*

Secondly, "Elſe, what ſhall they do that are bap-"tized for the dead? If the dead riſe not at all; "why are they then baptized for the dead?" 1 Cor. xv. 29.

This ſcripture is as much to the purpoſe as the former; and were I not uſed ſo frequently to meet with the like incoherences, it would amaze me to read ſuch disjoined matter, and unnatural conſequences; things in their own nature ſo remote and oppoſite. What relation has the *reſurrection* to the ſoul's entering *purgatory*, or that popiſh middle ſtate? Who are they that are baptized? And who thoſe for whom they were baptized? And how have either any relation to prayers for the dead, and ſouls in purgatory? But the Romaniſt thinks, however, that God is not offended at this charitable practice: hear what he ſays.

Papiſt. 'Neither can we diſcern how poſſibly this 'may be conceived offenſive to God; whoſe juſtice 'herein, we hope, we do humbly appeaſe, by an ex-'erciſe of brotherly compaſſion.'

Anſw.

Anſw. It is no wonder at all that blind men do not ſee; and ſuch as error has hoodwinked for generations, we cannot think ſhould diſcern truth, till they dare truſt their *eyes*, *ears*, and *underſtandings*, to anſwer the end for which God gave them.

There can be nothing conceived more offenſive to God, as well as unreaſonable with men, than that a mortal creature (indebted *himſelf* more than ever he can *diſcharge*) ſhould be able to appeaſe the diſpleaſed juſtice of an infinite God! The arrogancy of this ſaying only fits the ſize and meaſure of a meritorious Papiſt. But the man, fearing this retort, would anticipate its force by an half confeſſion and ſolution thus:

Papiſt. 'There is no law of God which aſſures us, 'in rigour of juſtice, of God's acceptance of the acts 'of another man for my ſins: yet this hinders not but 'that they may prevail, by way of *ſuffrage* and *impe-* 'tration, for our pardon.'

Anſw. If he could have given but one place of ſcripture, it would have helped the matter: but we take leave to ſay, we will not be wiſe (in this caſe) above what is written, and *quod non lego, non credo.* I ſhall return this ſhort anſwer to this evaſion. It is a poor ſhift from the force of the objection; for not only in the ſtricteſt, but largeſt ſenſe too, God ONLY, out of his free gift and mercy in Chriſt Jeſus, is Author of our remiſſion and forgiveneſs. Since there can ſcarcely be a more abſurd poſition, than that a man, unable to relieve himſelf, ſhould be the occaſion of relief to others in the ſame condition, whether by appeaſing divine juſtice, or by *ſuffrage* only; a word incongruous, and inapplicable in this place.

Beſides, what need is there for praying for ſouls in purgatory? That they ſhould be *ſaved?* That is held for granted before they go thither. Is it that they ſhould be *delivered* thence? That is the conſequence of the opinion. Or would they, that God ſhould forbear

his

his hand, and mitigate his rigour? (Which ſeems the moſt natural conſequence of their opinion). If ſo, they are the greateſt enemies: for their holding that the end of the chaſtiſements of purgatory is to prepare them for heaven; by how much the leſs they are chaſtiſed by thoſe fiery afflictions, by ſo much the leſs they are purged, and conſequently the more unfit for heaven. So that ſince heaven is ſooneſt attainable, as their ſouls come to be the ſooneſt and moſt effectually purged, they in charity ought to pray, that God would mend his fire, add fuel to his flames, and double his fiery tortures, that they may be the ſooner purged, and more refined for heaven.

Thus, while the Romaniſts are arguing for purgatory, they confute themſelves by not underſtanding it.

I ſhall conclude my ſenſe of this point, with the authority of ſcripture, reaſon, and antiquity.

Firſt, "Then ſhall the duſt return to the earth, as "it was, and the ſpirit unto God who gave it." Eccleſ. xii. 7. Gen. iii. 9. (then not to purgatory.)

Secondly, "For there is no work, nor device, nor "knowledge, nor wiſdom, in the grave, whither thou "goeſt." Eccleſ. ix. 10. (then none in purgatory.)

Thirdly, "And they ſtoned Stephen, calling upon "God, and ſaying, Lord Jeſus receive my ſpirit." Acts vii. 59. (no purgatory ſtill, but a certain immutable ſtate.)

That it is againſt all Reaſon, I offer theſe conſiderations.

1ſt. No man can merit for another: nor is it poſſible a poor indebted man ſhould pay another's debt (it may be greater than his own) and not be able to pay *his own*.

2. The repentance ought to be where the ſin is. But the ſin is *here*; therefore ſhould the repentance be here alſo.

3. Where there is a ceſſation from ſinning, there is a ceſſation from repentance. But there *is* a ceſſation from

from ſinning; therefore is there a ceſſation from repentance.

4th. Whatever attends the ſoul, after ſeparation from this mortal life, is immortal and eternal: this none can deny. But purgatory is a ſtate that attends the ſoul after this mortal life; and therefore, ſay I, it is an immortal and eternal ſtate. And if it be, it is either for *ſomething*, or *nothing*. If for *nothing*, God makes things in vain: if for the ſouls of men and women; then they are never to be ranſomed thence. But ſince the Romaniſts hold a redemption from thence, their confeſſion of the temporarineſs of that ſtate proves it a mere fiction: for when the ſoul is withdrawn from this viſible mortal life, which ſtands in time, it is centered in an inviſible and immortal ſtate, beyond the wings and reach of time.

In ſhort, this world is the ſtage on which all men do act for eternity; and every venture of theirs brings its true weight of eternal life or death. Death is the conſummation of all; and when we ceaſe to work, we enter upon reward. But if purgatory were in being, the greateſt work were to be done there: which, becauſe it is abſurd to affirm, we conclude, that after death we ceaſe from all our labours, and enter upon our recompence of everlaſting happineſs or miſery.

I ſhall ſubjoin ſome authorities from antiquity.

The ſenſe of antiquity, and their own authors.

The doctrine of praying for the dead, we know, was too old a practice; yet not ſo old as the apoſtle. But how? As for ſouls in a *third* place (for that theſe Romaniſts mean by their purgatory, however modeſt they ſeem by their half-expreſſions)? Nothing leſs! however the ſuperſtition of the Papiſts has driven them into ſo foul an apprehenſion: but the ancients, believing there would be a general day of judgment, prayed that God would ſhew ſuch mercy in that day. Gregory the firſt is ſaid to be its father. Certain we are, that ſuperſtition was both its mother and its nurſe: for

that this fond purgatorian opinion is altogether new, read both their own authors and the Fathers. Polyd. cap. 1. *De inven. rerum.* Alphonſ. a Caſtro, lib. 8. *verb. indul.* lib. 12. *lib. Purgat.* So Sextus Senenſis, Medina, Caſſander, and Bellarmine himſelf.

That the fathers diſowned it, in the ſenſe aſſerted by the Romaniſts, and particularly their great ſaint Auſtin, let them peruſe theſe places, Juſt. Martyr. *reſp. ad queſt.* 75. Cyprian. *ad Demetrian.* ſect. 16. 22. and in *ſerm. de lapſis.* Greg. Nazian. *orat.* 15. in *plag. grandinis.* Auguſt. *Enchirid.* cap. 68, 69. Again, *de Dogmat. Eccleſ.* 6. cap. 79. But, above all, that the Romaniſts ſhould *pray for* thoſe, to whom they pray to *intercede* for them, is moſt abſurd! yet this is frequent. But for this time enough.

IX. Of the Moral Law: Of Obedience to Civil Magistrates.

Papiſt. 'WE farther do firmly believe, and highly reverence the moral law, being ſo 'ſolemnly delivered to Moſes upon the mount, ſo expreſly confirmed by our Saviour in the goſpel, and 'containing in itſelf ſo perfect an abridgment of our 'whole duty both to God and man.'

Anſw. We may take his belief to be as hearty, as his confeſſions are ſincere. I know not what to ſay more truly, than that his whole diſcourſe is an irony: we are to meaſure it by contraries, eſpecially when the fruits give the tree the lie.

How far the Roman Catholicks reverence the moral law, is beſt ſeen by conſidering how many laws they have made to deſtroy it.

1. That of *images.* For though God did expreſly enjoin Moſes, 'That the Iſraelites ſhould not make to 'themſelves the likeneſs of any thing in heaven or in 'earth,' (whence the primitive Chriſtians abhorred painture) or, when they had ſo done, that 'they ſhould

'not

not bow down unto it;' yet how many edicts are there in being, that require them to be ſet up in their churches, as laymens calendars, to whom daily homage is performed? They are the ſplendid enſigns of the Popiſh Pageantry religion.

2. In not only diſpenſing with diſobedience in children, but in exciting them to it, if they apprehend ſome ſervice to their church, be it to make a friar, &c.

3. In thoſe frequent bulls for maſſacres, that can no more be denied than light at noon-day; by which people have been ſtirred up, upon the promiſe of forgiveneſs of ſins, redemption from purgatory, and eternal ſalvation, or dreadful denunciation of eternal damnation, to enterprize that work of murdering many hundred thouſands of men, women, and children, without any legal preſentment, trial or conviction. But the conſideration of theſe things is too much out of faſhion in England; ſince many embrace them upon their preſent diſguiſes, and not in their true ſanguinary appearances.

4. The breach of the moral law is ſignally manifeſt in their diſpenſations of publick ſtews, eſpecially at Rome; where the Pope's revenue is not a little greatened by thoſe ungodly licences. And it is too fatally known, that by ſuch immoral courſes, they have crept into the moſt cabinet counſels of princes; and not only rendered themſelves maſters of their ſecrets, but inſinuated their projects by the force of effeminate temptations; which, if denied, might eaſily be proved in the caſe of Henry the Fourth of France, and others.

5. That religion hath proved the greateſt thief in nature: its popes, cardinals, archbiſhops, biſhops, deans, chapters, and whole orders of friars, have near engroſſed the greateſt ſhare of the wealth of Europe, I mean of thoſe countries where yet they are regent. Before Conſtantine, how mean and meek were Chriſtian miniſters! but in his time, and a few ages after, to what a ſtrange degree of exorbitant pride and avarice did the clergy mount, when it could dare entitle Peter's chair to the whole world! kingdoms and em-

pires muſt be given and taken with a "WE WILL, or "WE GRANT," &c.—View thoſe countries; and the univerſal poverty of them impute to thoſe ſwarms of locuſts and caterpillars, who both corrupt and beggar them. This is a theft, though leſs ſharking, yet more criminal.

6. They notoriouſly break the moral law, in that great command, "Thou ſhalt not bear falſe witneſs "againſt thy neighbour;" which comprehends all truth-ſpeaking. For as no witneſs is bound to anſwer, farther than by interrogatories he is provoked; ſo is it utterly impoſſible that ever truth ſhould be told, or men ſin in lying (whilſt one of the greateſt ſins) if the Romiſh maxims were but once practiſed: ſome of which I ſhall touch upon in the ſequel of this chapter.

As to that part of their confeſſion which may relate to their keeping of promiſe, and paying ſubjection to the civil magiſtrates of what religion ſoever, and much more to thoſe under whom they live; I purpoſely overlooked it, becauſe it is well known, that they have been ſo far from yielding obedience to the magiſtrates of any religion, that they have not ſtuck to aſſaſſinate thoſe of their own, to whoſe power they owed their civil and religious protection. And truly, if ſuch double cords of duty cannot tie the hands of men from murdering their natural and religious princes (as Henry the Third and Fourth of France, both kings of their country, and therein of their religion; becauſe a little refractory to the ſiniſter deſigns of an inſolent clergyman or two) I think it needleſs to give their plainer Engliſh of obedience, who ſo excellently render it in the paraphraſe of their life.

I ſpeak not this to incenſe the powers againſt them: for it is my real belief, that neither are all of them ſuch, nor would I take the burden off my own ſhoulder, to lay it on theirs (being a profeſſed abettor of an univerſal toleration): but this being matter of fact, as they cannot deny it, ſo ſhould I gladly hear of their confeſſion of theſe impieties; and that they diſown the like practices, not by fine gloſſes, but an amend-

amendment of life, and reformation of doctrine; which would really entitle them to that verity they do but hitherto fictitiously attribute to themselves.

The sense and opinion of their own authors.

First, Vasquez teacheth, 'That not only an image 'of God, but any creature in the world, reasonable 'or unreasonable, may without danger be worshipped 'with God, as his image. That we ought to adore 'the relicks of saints, though under the form of 'worms.' *De Adorat, lib.* 3. *disp.* 1. *cap.* 2.

Secondly, They teach, 'That children may disobey 'their parents, in being nuns or friars: and this girls 'may do at twelve, and boys at fourteen years of 'age.' But the council of Trent enlarged the parent's authority to sixteen. This wretched doctrine was taught and decreed by pope Clement the Third. Tho. Aquin. and after him his scholars, taught the same. *Cap. cum virum de regular. Aquin.* 2. 2. *qu.* 88. *art.* 9. *lib.* 1. *cap.* 101. also in case the parents were hereticks.

Thirdly, 'If a nobleman be set upon (says cardinal 'Tollet) and may escape by going away, he is not 'obliged to do it; but may kill him that intends to 'strike him with a stick.' *Instruct. Sacerd. lib.* 5. *cap.* 6. *num.* 15.

Fourthly, 'If a man be beastly drunk, and then 'commits fornication, it is no sin.' *Lib.* 14. *cap.* 13. *n.* 4. Also, 'That a man may lie with women, to 'satisfy his carnal desire, or for his health-sake.' *Lib.* 5. *cap.* 10, 13. 'A man may bed with his intended 'wife; nay, it is good to do so if the marriage be 'deferred;' says *Emanuel Sa. Aphor. tit. debitum conjugale* 6.

Fifthly, They instruct how to be an honest thief. 'It is lawful to deceive or rob a brother, when to do 'so is necessary to preserve a good name. For no 'man is bound to restore stolen goods.' Thus Navar. cardinal Cajetan, and Tolet; who farther add, 'That

'this is a doctrine taught by many, and which may 'be followed with a ſafe conſcience.' *Tolet. Inſtruct. Sacerd. lib.* 5. *cap.* 2. *Manual. cap.* 18. *n.* 7.

Sixthly, How juſt they may be to their promiſes, how ſubject to the ſupreme magiſtracy, and of how eminent ſervice to human ſocieties, may beſt appear out of theſe following maxims.

'If a man ſwear he will take A. C. to wife, he 'may ſecretly mean, *if hereafter ſhe pleaſe me.*' *Inſtruct. Sacerd. lib.* 4. *cap.* 21, 22.

'If a man ſwear he will give a thief twenty crowns, 'he may ſecretly ſay, *if I pleaſe to do it*; and then he 'is not bound.' Of this rare invention Vaſquez vaunts not a little, as being gathered out of *Auguſt.* and *Aquin. In.* 3. *tom.* 4. *qu.* 93. *art.* 5. *dub.* 13.

'There are two diſtinct tribunals (ſays Becanus) 'and the eccleſiaſtical is the ſuperior: and therefore 'if a ſecular prince gives his ſubjects a ſafe conduct, 'he cannot extend it to the ſuperior tribunal; nor, 'by any ſecurity given, hinder the biſhop, or the 'pope, to exerciſe their juriſdiction.' *Theol. Schola.* That this is ſo, let us call to mind, that the pope, and other of his eccleſiaſticks, did prevail at Conſtance, for the burning of their priſoners, J. Huſs, &c. to whom ſafe conduct was given.

In ſhort, 'If a man have taken an oath of a thing 'lawful and honeſt, and in his power; yet, if it hin-'ders him from doing a greater good, the pope can 'diſpenſe with it.' Thus Canus, biſhop of the Canaries, *Relict. de pœnitent.*

'The pope's denunciation againſt an excommuni-'cated prince, diſengages his ſubjects from their obe-'dience.' This was once our caſe, as in Henry the Eighth's time, *Concer. Eccl. in Angl. fol.* 336.

Nay, 'Even before the ſentence be denounced, 'though the ſubjects are not bound to it, yet lawfully 'they may deny obedience to an heretical prince.' Thus *Greg. de Valentia, tom.* 3. *diſp.* 1. *qu.* 12. *punct.* 2.

To conclude, the ingenuity of Panormitan and Moſconius outdoes all:

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The firſt affirming, 'That the pope hath power to 'diſpenſe in all the laws of God.' *Cap. propoſui de conceſſ. prebende, n.* 20.

The ſecond, with as much zeal aſſerting, 'That the 'pope can diſpenſe above law, and againſt law; for 'the pope's tribunal and God's is but one: and there-'fore every reaſonable creature is ſubject to the pope's 'empire;' as may be ſeen in his diſcourſe of the Majeſty of the church militant, and in *lib.* 1. *de ſummo Pontif.*

X. Of Eccleſiaſtical Hierarchy.

Papiſt. 'WE firmly believe, that according to 'divine ordination in the catholick 'church, there is an hierarchy, conſiſting of biſhops, 'prieſts, and miniſters. He gave ſome apoſtles, and 'ſome prophets, and others evangeliſts, and others 'paſtors and doctors, to the conſummation of the 'ſaints, unto the work of the miniſtry, unto the edi-'fying of the body of Chriſt, until we all meet in 'the unity of faith, and the knowledge of the Son of 'God, &c.'

It is a great truth, that biſhops, paſtors, teachers, &c. were given by Chriſt Jeſus, for the work of the miniſtry; but what then? Can Romaniſts make uſe of this to juſtify their moſt injurious and tyrannical hierarchy? Do the ſcriptures of truth tell us, that ever God gave lordly, proud, and voluptuous popes, cardinals, primates, archbiſhops, deans, chapters, friars, nuns, &c. for the edifying of the church, and body of Chriſt? The primitive biſhops were to be "*blame-*"*leſs*;" not living in all manner of uncleanneſs: "*gentle*, no ſtrikers, no brawlers, nor perſecutors of "their brethren," as are the popes of Rome: "apt "to teach;" not by roaring bulls to excommunicate: "to eat and drink ſuch things as were ſet before "them;" not racking and grinding the faces of the

poor, the widows, and the fatherleſs, and extorting their labours, to greaten their revenues, to live in idleneſs, pomp, and luſt: "the huſband but of one wife;" not condemners of marrying of one honeſt woman, and diſpenſers with as many whores as luſt may require; cardinal and eminent points and practices amongſt the Romaniſts.

In ſhort, the Romiſh hierarchy is ſo far from being ſuited within the order of the goſpel, by them quoted in their confeſſion; that the whole deſign of their lordly popes, cardinals, archbiſhops, biſhops, Jeſuits, and other friars of many ſorts, (eſteemed of the religious tribe) is but to overbalance the civil power, and render themſelves maſters of the ſwords and purſes of princes and commonwealths, to maintain them in idleneſs, plenty, and pleaſure; and to blind the underſtandings of them they abuſe, that they may abuſe them as the Philiſtines did Sampſon, when they had put out his eyes, to anſwer their own wicked ends with the greater ſecurity.

To conclude, 'If we would not receive a thief, 'until he has repented;' let the Papiſt firſt recant his voluminous errors; not known in ſcripture, nor ever heard of for three hundred years together after Chriſt.

But above all, 'Let us have good teſtimony of his 'hearty ſorrow, for that ſea of blood ſhed in Eng-'land, France, Holland, Ireland, Spain, Italy, Savoy, 'Switzerland, and Germany, of many hundred thou-'ſands of poor Proteſtants, that for pure conſcience 'could not conform to their moſt exorbitant practices, 'as well as new doctrines, impoſed upon them:' ſuch inhuman and barbarous inventions and cruelties, as no age could ever parallel; and are the only demonſtrations of their wicked wits, that lived in that; and that not only upon the parties themſelves, but their poor, little innocent babes: for that ENGLISH PROTESTANTS ſhould ſo far neglect theſe weighty conſiderations, as to be gulled and cheated out of the religion purchaſed them by their martyred anceſtors; and perſuaded to embrace that old, bloody, apoſtatized

church.

church again, with all her ſlaviſh, as well as ridiculous ſuperſtition, is a crime ſo offenſive to God, and intolerable to men, as the time haſtens, 'That the very 'ſtones in the ſtreet will riſe up in judgment againſt 'them.'

Thus while ſome Proteſtants (and thoſe chiefly concerned in theſe affairs) are moſtly buſied in perſecuting Diſſenters; I hope it will not be ill reſented, that one of them has, in the mean time, undertook (though with much brevity) an enervation of the Romaniſts faith, at leaſt a detection of their craft, their horrid coſenage, and preſent way of infatuation amongſt the people.

But we muſt once more declare, it is not to our purpoſe to bring them under perſecution; but to preſent the people with ſuch an information, as may prevent them from ever having power to perſecute others.

A QUES-

A Queſtionary POSTSCRIPT.

I Here ſubjoin theſe few following queries; which if the Romaniſts will frankly anſwer, and with that grave ſincerity that becomes ſo weighty an affair; we may eaſily know whereabouts they are.

I. Whether we ought to believe and accept any principle, as fundamentally true and orthodox, that is not laid down, and avouched to be ſuch, by evident ſcripture, and the moſt pure and primitive tradition?

If they ſay, *we ought*, let them tell us out of what ſcripture we may read it: but if we ought not——— Then,

II. Whether the doctrine of papal infallibility; of tranſubſtantiation; of the ſacrifice of the maſs; of images; of auricular confeſſions; of indulgences; of prayers for the dead; of purgatory; of prayers in Latin; of their whole eccleſiaſtical government, and pretended religious orders; be allowed or recommended, as matter of Chriſtian faith, and diſcipline, by ſcripture and antiquity?

If they are not to be found there, why ſhould any be ſo abſurd as to receive them? If they are taken thence, let them aſſign us the places, both in ſcripture and primitive antiquity; for the firſt three hundred years after Chriſt (and in ſome particulars much more) are wholly ſilent in the matter, any farther than to furniſh us with pregnant inſtances *againſt* thoſe idle dotages, and groſs ſuperſtitions. But,

III. Whether in caſe they could not be conformed to, they would allow a TOLERATION, were they powerful?

IV. Whe-

IV. Whether in caſe they ſhould ſay YES, we ought to believe them? ſince it is one of their moſt ſacred maxims, 'Not to keep faith with here-'ticks;' as was ſeen in the caſe of thoſe of the Alpine vallies, J. Huſs, &c. and in that they have in all ages brought ſo great a deluge of blood upon the European world.

V. Whether it be the intereſt of the Engliſh nation to ſubject herſelf to a yoke? Conſidering the incomparable bloody maſſacres of that ſort of men in ſeveral reigns, with the ſpiritual tyranny ſhe would bring upon herſelf, which muſt end in the draining of her people to enrich the papacy, who make it a fundamental maxim, 'That the en-'riching of the church (or rather the impove-'riſhing of the people) is the ſecuring of it:' for ſeculars (the laity) being impoveriſhed, as of old, the church-party will have the treaſury, and conſequently the triumphing power in their hands; which brings to the ancient arrogancy of popes, viz. 'Setting their feet upon the necks of 'princes.'

VI. And laſtly, Whether the deſign of popery be not an utter deſtruction of all true and ſolid religion, and the introduction of formality and ſuperſtition, to the inſecuring of civil authority, and putting the people's judgment into the prieſts Inquiſition? Since the moſt *ignorant* and *careleſs*, or the moſt *vicious* and *profane*, are generally found to be their proſelytes; their religion (by reaſon of its latitude in point of INDULGENCE) being an open ſanctuary for refuge to all looſe and debauched livers.

THE

THE PROPOSED COMPREHENSION, SOBERLY, and NOT UNSEASONABLY CONSIDERED.

Published in the Year 1672.

ALTHOUGH the benefits wherewith Almighty God has univerſally bleſſed the whole creation, are a ſufficient check to the narrowneſs of their ſpirits, who would unreaſonably confine all comforts of life within the ſtrait compaſs of their own party (as if to recede from their apprehenſions, whereof themſelves deny any infallible aſſurance, were reaſon good enough to deprive other Diſſenters of nature's inheritance, and, which is more peculiar, England's freedoms); yet ſince it fares ſo meanly with thoſe excellent examples, that many vainly think themſelves then beſt to anſwer the end of their being born into the world, when by a ſeverity, which leaſt of all reſembles the GOD of LOVE, they rigorouſly proſecute the extirpation of their brethren; let it not ſeem unreaſonable, or ill-timed, that we offer to your more ſerious thoughts the great partiality and injuſtice that ſeem to be the companions of a comprehenſion, ſince you only can be concerned at this time to prevent it, by a more large and generous freedom.

Firſt, then, liberty of conſcience (by which we commonly underſtand the free exerciſe of any diſſenting perſuaſion) is but what has been generally pleaded for, even by the warmeſt ſticklers for a comprehenſion, and without which it would be utterly impoſſible they ſhould be comprehended. The queſtion then will be this, 'What ground can there be, why ſome, 'and not all, ſhould be tolerated?' It muſt either reſpect conſcience or government: if it be upon matter of mere religion, what reaſon is there that one party

party ſhould be tolerated, and another reſtrained; ſince all thoſe reaſons, that may be urged by that party which is comprehended, are every whit as proper to the party excluded? For if the former ſay 'they are 'orthodox;' ſo ſay the latter too. If the one urge, 'It is impoſſible they ſhould believe without a con-'viction; that the underſtanding cannot be forced; 'that mildneſs gains moſt; that the true religion ne-'ver perſecuted; that ſeverity is moſt unworthy of 'her; that ſound reaſon is the only weapon which 'can diſarm the underſtanding; that coercion doth 'rather obdurate than ſoften; and that they therefore 'chuſe to be ſincere Diſſenters, rather than hypocriti-'cal Conformiſts;' the other party ſays the ſame. In fine, there can be nothing ſaid for liberty of conſcience, upon pure conſcientious grounds, by any one party in England, that every one may not be intereſted in; unleſs any will undertake to judge that of five ſorts of Diſſenters, two are really ſuch on conviction, and three upon mere deſign. But if ſuch ſentence would be looked upon as moſt arrogant and unjuſt, how can it be reaſonable, that thoſe whom ſome endeavour to exclude ſhould be thus prejudged; and ſuch as are comprehended, be therefore ſo only from a ſtrong opinion of their reality? We may conclude then, that ſince liberty of conſcience is what in itſelf comprehenders plead, and that it is evident, to affirm this, or that, or the other party orthodox, is but a mere begging of the queſtion, what may be urged for one is forcible for any other; conſcience (not moveable but upon conviction) being what all pretend themſelves alike concerned in.

But they ſay, 'That ſuch as are like to be compre-'hended, are perſons *not eſſentially* differing; that it 'were pity to exclude them whoſe difference is rather 'in minute matters, than any thing ſubſtantial; where-'as you err in fundamentals.' But how paradoxical ſoever ſuch may pleaſe to think it, that we ſhould therefore plead the juſtice of taking thoſe in, ſome unkindly would have left out, we know not; however,

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we believe it moſt reaſonable to do ſo: for certainly the reaſon for liberty or toleration ſhould hold proportion with the weighty cauſe of diſſent, and the ſtreſs conſcience puts upon it. Where matters are trivial, they are more blameable that make them a ground for diſſent, than thoſe who perhaps (were that all the difference) would never eſteem them worth contending for; much leſs that they ſhould rend from that church they otherwiſe confeſs to be a true one. So that whoever are condemnable, certainly thoſe who have been authors and promoters of ſeparation upon mere toys and niceties, are not moſt of all others to be juſtified. Had they conſcientiouſly offered ſome fundamental diſcontent, and pleaded the impoſſibility of reconciling ſome doctrines with their reaſon or conſcience, yet promiſing quiet living, and all due ſubjection to government, they might have been thus far more excuſable, that people would have had reaſon to have ſaid, Certainly ſmall matters could not have induced theſe men to this diſgraceful ſeparation, nor any thing of this life have tempted them to this ſo great and troubleſome alteration. 'But to take pet at a ceremony, then rend from the church, ſet up a new 'name, model and gather people, raiſe animoſity, and 'only make fit for blows,' by a furious zeal kindled in their heads againſt a few *ineptiæ*, mere trifles; and, being utterly vanquiſhed from theſe proceedings, to become moſt earneſt ſolicitors for a comprehenſion; though at the ſame time of hot purſuit after this privilege, to ſeek nothing more than to prevent others of enjoying the ſame favour, under the pretence of more fundamental difference; certainly this ſhews, that had ſuch perſons power, they would as well diſallow of a comprehenſion to thoſe who are the aſſertors of thoſe ceremonies they recede from, as that for mere ceremonies they did at firſt zealouſly diſſent, and ever ſince remain more unjuſtifiably fierce for ſuch ſeparation. And truly, if there were no more in it than this, it would be enough for us to ſay, that ſome in England never rent themſelves from the church at

all,

all, much leſs for little matters: that they never endeavoured her exile, but ſhe found them upon her return, which they oppoſed not; nor yet ſince have any ways ſought to inſtall themſelves in her dignities, or enrich themſelves by her preferments. We appeal then to all ſober men, if what is generally called the *epiſcopal* party of England, can with good conſcience and true honour, diſinherit thoſe of their native rights, peace, and protection, and leave them as orphans to the wide world, indeed a naked prey to the devourer, who from firſt to laſt have never been concerned, either to endeavour their ruin, or any ways withſtand their return; whilſt it may be ſome of thoſe, who have been the moſt vigorous in both, and that for *circumſtantial*, and not *eſſential* differences, may be reputed more deſerving of a comprehenſion than we are of a toleration.

But it will be yet ſaid, 'You are inconſiſtent with 'government; they are not: therefore you are ex-'cluded, not out of partiality, but neceſſity.' What government beſides their own they are conſiſtent with, we leave on the ſide of ſtory to tell, which can better ſpeak their mind than we are either able or willing to do. But this give us leave to ſay in general, if any apprehend us to be ſuch as merit not the care of our ſuperiors, becauſe ſuppoſed to be deſtructive of the government, let us be called forth by name, and hear our charge; and if we are not able to anſwer the unbiaſſed reaſon of mankind, in reference to our conſiſtency with the peace, quiet, trade, and tribute of theſe kingdoms, then, and not before, deny us all protection. But that men ſhould be concluded before heard, and ſo ſentenced for what they really are not, is like *beheading* them before they are *born*. We do aver, and can make it appear, that there is no one party more quiet, ſubject, induſtrious, and, in the bottom of their very ſouls, greater lovers of the good old Engliſh government, and proſperity of theſe kingdoms among the comprehended, than, for aught we yet ſee, may be found among thoſe who are like

to

to be unkindly excluded. However, if ſuch we were in any one point, *cure* rather than *kill* us; and ſeek the publick good ſome cheaper way than by our *deſtruction*. Is there no expedient to prevent ruin? Let REASON qualify *zeal*, and CONSCIENCE *opinion*.

To conclude, If the publick may be ſecured, and conſcience freely exerciſed by all, for the ſame reaſons it may by ſome. And ſince liberty of conſcience *is* liberty of conſcience, and the reaſons for it equivalent, we ſee not in the whole world why any ſhould be deprived of that, which others for no better reaſons are like to enjoy.

Let it not then be unworthy of ſuch to remember, that God affords his refreſhing "ſun to all;" the dunghill is no more excepted than the moſt delightful plain; and his "rain falls alike both upon the juſt "and unjuſt:" he ſtrips not mankind of what ſuits their creaturely preſervation: *Chriſtians* themſelves have no more peculiar privilege in the natural benefits of heaven, than *Turks* or *Indians*. Would it not then be ſtrange, that *Infidels* themſelves, much leſs any ſort of *Chriſtians*, ſhould be deprived of natural privileges for mere *opinion*, by thoſe who pretend to be the *beſt ſervants* of that GOD, who ſhews them quite another example, by the univerſality of his goodneſs as Creator; and *believers* in that CHRIST, who himſelf preached the *perfection of love*, both to *friends and enemies*, and laid down his life to confirm it when he had done. If men ſhould love their enemies, doubtleſs they ought at leaſt to forbear their friends: and though ſome differences in judgment about *religion* be a ſufficient reaſon to excommunicate a man the air eccleſiaſtical, yet nothing certainly of that ſort ought to diſprivilege men of their air natural and civil to breathe freely in: and let that *good* our ſuperiors have obſerved to be the *fruit of our toleration*, not be weakened or blaſted by an untimely *comprehenſion* of ſome, to the *excluſion* of the reſt; ſince the reaſon holds the

ſame for the leſs formidable ſeparatiſts, that may not be however any whit leſs conſcientious.

We will omit to mention, how much more ſuitable it were to ſtate-matters, that all parties ſhould be kept upon an equal poize; a thing moſt true in itſelf, and moſt ſecure to the publick magiſtrate; and will conclude at this time, that though we no ways deſign a miſrepreſenting of any, much leſs their exception, and leaſt of all their perſecution; yet a comprehenſion, either reſpecting the perſons and their qualifications, or their ſeparation, and the grounds and reaſons of it, we ſeriouſly believe, can never be conſiſtent with that conſcience, honour, wiſdom, and ſafety, that ought to be the mark thoſe who are concerned in it ſhould take their aim by. But if a comprehenſion ſhould at laſt be compaſſed, it is not doubted by many wiſe men, but it will be found as impracticable as other acts more ſeemingly ſevere have been, and at laſt will neceſſitate to that well-ordered univerſal toleration of all, who both profeſs and practice peace, obedience, induſtry, and good life; which will beſt pleaſe Almighty God, and rejoice the hearts of all good men.

From real friends,

To KING and COUNTRY.

A LETTER

A

LETTER

TO THE

COUNCIL AND SENATE

OF THE CITY OF

EMBDEN.

Publiſhed in the Year 1674.

The King of kings, and Lord of lords, who is God of all the families of the earth, incline your hearts to juſtice, mercy, and truth.

THE noiſe of your ſevere treatment of ſeveral perſons that are inhabitants of your ſtate, reproachfully termed QUAKERS, hath reached theſe parts, and filled ſeveral with compaſſion and ſurprize: compaſſion, to hear of the miſeries of men innocent and upright, againſt whom you have nothing to object, but the pure exerciſe of their conſcience to God*: ſurprize, that you, a Proteſtant ſtate, ſhould employ your civil power to deter, puniſh, and grievouſly afflict men for anſwering the convictions of their conſciences, and acting according to the beſt of their underſtandings. Methinks you ſhould not be obli-

* Our account ſays, ſome were cruelly beaten by order; others baniſhed; ſome put in a dungeon, and fed with bread and water only; ſeveral fined greater ſums of money, it is thought, than they had to pay.

vious of your own condition in the loins of your anceſtors, who, you think, with great reaſon and juſtice ſtrenuouſly advocated the cauſe of liberty of conſcience againſt the Pope's bulls and the Spaniſh inquiſition: how did they antichriſtian all force on conſcience or puniſhment for non-conformity? Their own many and large apologies, and particularly their demands at the diets of Norimberg and Spire, are pregnant proofs in the caſe; and your practice doth not leſſen the weight of their reaſons; on the contrary, it aggravates your unkindneſs, let me ſay, injuſtice.

PROTESTANTS (and ſuch you glory to be thought) got their name by proteſting againſt impoſitions; and will you turn impoſers? They condemned it; and will you practiſe it? They thought it a mark peculiar to the BEAST; and can you repute it the care of a CHRISTIAN magiſtracy? I mean, that perſons muſt not live under your government, unleſs they receive your mark in their forehead or right hand? Which in plainer terms is, to ſubmit their conſciences to your edicts, and to aſk your leave what religion they ſhould be of. Remember, that "Faith is the gift of God;" and, that "what is not of faith is ſin." Nothing can be more unreaſonable, than to compel men to believe againſt their belief, or to trouble them for practiſing what they believe, when it thwarts not the moral law of God.

You doubtleſs take yourſelves to be Chriſtians, and would eſteem it no little injury to be otherwiſe repreſented; yet what more unchriſtian, than to uſe external force to ſway the conſciences of men about the exerciſe of religious worſhip.

Chriſt Jeſus, the Lord and Author of the Chriſtian religion, cenſured his own diſciples, that would have had fire from heaven to deſtroy thoſe that conformed not to what their bleſſed Maſter taught. Are you ſure of your religion? Are you better Chriſtians? Or, have you more Chriſtian authority than they, that were the choſen witneſſes of Jeſus? However, remember they called

called but for fire from heaven; and can you kindle fire on earth to devour them? *Them*, I ſay, that are of your own people, merely for their religious diſſent from you? Doubtleſs, if that was then thought no fit argument to induce men to conformity by him that was wiſer than Solomon, it reflects greatly upon your modeſty and prudence, that you ſhould find out new ways, or rather old exploded ones, to effect ſo ill a deſign. Beſides, you do not ſay you know all you ought to know, or that there is nothing farther to be revealed: have a care, therefore, that you perſecute not angels, by being harſh to that which you call ſtrange: think not ill, much leſs ſpeak, and leaſt of of all act that which is ſo, againſt what you do not perfectly underſtand. I am well perſuaded, that thoſe you inflict ſuch ſevere penalties upon, mean well in what they believe (to be ſure much better than you think they do, or elſe you are extremely to blame); and that the reaſon of their preſent diſtance from you, is not to introduce or inſinuate dangerous or exotick opinions; but to live a life of more holineſs, purity, and ſelf-denial, than before. They do not think that you walk up to your own principles; and have reaſon to believe that the power of godlineſs is much loſt among you; and having long lain under a decay and languiſhing of ſoul for want of true ſpiritual nouriſhment, they have now betaken themſelves to that heavenly gift and grace of God in themſelves for divine ſatisfaction, even that holy anointing that is able to teach them all things neceſſary for them to know, as the bleſſed apoſtle ſpeaks; and they find the joys of the Holy Ghoſt in ſo doing. And I am perſuaded they are not leſs peaceable, ſober, juſt, and neighbourly than formerly, and altogether as conſiſtent with the proſperity of civil ſociety; and I am ſure, it is both found and confeſſed among us here, by ſome men of quality, learning, and virtue. Farther, be pleaſed to conſider with yourſelves, that you juſtify the ancient perſecutions of the Chriſtians and firſt reformers, whoſe ſuperiors thought as ill of them, as

you do of theſe men; nay, you ſhew the Papiſts what to do in their dominions to your own brethren. Do as you would be done by. If you would have liberty, give it; you know that God's witneſs in your hearts dictates this to you, as an immutable law.

Could you give faith, it were more excuſable for you to puniſh ſuch as ſhould reſiſt. But ſince that is impoſſible, the other is unreaſonable; for it is to afflict men for not being what they cannot be, unleſs they turn hypocrites: that is the higheſt pitch your coercive power can arrive at; for never did it convert or preſerve one ſoul to God: inſtead thereof it offers violence unto conſcience, and puts a man either upon the denial of his faith and reaſon, or being deſtroyed for acting according to them: but what greater diſproportion can there be, than what lieth between the intellect of man, and priſons, fines, and baniſhments? They inform no man's judgment, reſolve no doubts, convince no underſtandings; the power of perſuaſion is not to be found in any ſuch barbarous actions, no more than the doctrine of Chriſtianity. This courſe deſtroys the bodies and eſtates of men,[b] inſtead of ſaving their ſouls: were they in the wrong, it would become you to uſe God's weapons, his ſword of the ſpirit, that ſaveth the creature, and ſlayeth the evil in him. This courſe tends to heart-burnings and deſtruction; I am ſure it is no goſpel argument.

I beſeech you, for the ſake of that Lord Jeſus Chriſt that ſuffered ſo patiently for his own religion, and ſo ſharply prohibited making other men to ſuffer for theirs, that you would have a care how you exerciſe power over mens conſciences. My friends, conſcience is God's throne in man, and the power of it his prerogative: it is to uſurp his authority, and boldly aſcend his throne, to ſet lords over it. Were their converſation ſcandalous, and deſtructive to the good of your ſtate, you were to be held excuſable: but

[b] And property, which they repute themſelves guardians of, is hereby loſt, verily,

verily, no man of mercy and conſcience can defend your practice upon poor men ſo peaceable and inoffenſive. Gamaliel will riſe up in judgment againſt you, if you perſevere in this courſe. Do not you help to fill the catalogue of perſecutors, in much love I entreat you; but as becomes Chriſtian men and true Proteſtants, leave men to their particular perſuaſions of affairs relative of the other world, which have no ill aſpect on the affairs of this; but vice hath an evil conſequence as to both: therefore puniſh vice, and affect truth and righteouſneſs, and bend not your civil power to torment religious Diſſenters; but to retrieve good life, lamentably loſt amidſt the great pretences that are made to religion. Doubtleſs magiſtracy was both ordained of God, and elected by men, to be "a "terror to evil-doers," and not to them that do well, though of different judgments. You oppugn the Roman church for aſſuming infallibility to herſelf, and yet your own practice maketh you guilty of the ſame preſumption, or worſe: for either you do exerciſe that ſeverity upon an infallible knowledge, or you do not; if you do, you take that to yourſelves your principles deny to any church whatever, which is a contradiction; if you do not, you puniſh people for not conforming to what you yourſelves deny any certainty about: and how do you know but you compel them to that which is falſe, as well as that which is true? Verily, this dilemma is not eaſily avoided, as well as that this inhuman practice will ſtain your profeſſion, infame your government, and bring a blot upon your poſterity.

Remember that they are men, as well as yourſelves, born free, and have equal plea to natural and civil common privileges with yourſelves: the different perſuaſion of their conſciences about things relating to another life, can no ways render them unfit for this; it neither unmans nor uncivilizes them. They have the ſame right to their liberty and property as ever, having by no practice of theirs in the leaſt forfeited any of thoſe human advantages, the great charters of

nature and ſcripture have conferred upon them: and the opulency of your neighbours, and proſperity of their affairs, prove to you that indulgence is not inconſiſtent with policy; howbeit, you have now tried the ſincerity of their procedure, by what you have already inflicted, and they ſuſtained: let the time paſt ſuffice, and make them not ſacrifices for their conſcientious conſtancy. If they are in the wrong, it is more than they know: will you perſecute men for being what they muſt be, if they will be true to themſelves? This were great violence; rather commiſerate, than thus violently compel them. I beſeech you, ſeek ſome cheaper way to accommodate yourſelves, than by their deſtruction, who are ſo very remote from ſeeking yours. 'O! the day will come, wherein one 'act of tenderneſs about matters of conſcience, ſhall 'find a better reward, than all the ſeverity by which 'men uſe to propagate their perſuaſions in the world:' and there is great reaſon for it, ſince the one flows from the Saviour, the other from the Deſtroyer, of men. In fine, "let your moderation be known unto "all men; for the Lord is at hand, whoſe reward is "with him; and he will recompenſe every man, fa"mily, ſtate, kingdom, and empire, according to "the nature of their works committed in this mortal "body:" at whoſe bar it ſhall never be laid to your charge, that out of fear of taking God's office out of his hands, and of being unmerciful to tender conſciences, you admitted men of differing judgments to dwell quietly among you. Truly, you cannot be too tender in this point.

Imitate the God of nature and grace, by being propitious to all; "his ſun ſhineth on all, his rain "falls on all, he gives life and being to all; his "grace viſits all, and in times of ignorance he wink"eth;" and though ſuch you may repute ours, I hope you cannot think you wink at it, who make ſuch broad tokens of your diſpleaſure. O! how forbearing and merciful is he towards you? Have you ſo lately eſcaped the wrath of enemies, and can you already

already thus ſharply treat your friends? Had he entered into judgment with you, what had become of you? Let his goodneſs to you prevail with you to expreſs clemency to others, that ſo the great God of the whole earth, even the 'God of the ſpirits of all 'fleſh, who reſpects not the perſons of the rich, poor, 'or powerful in judgment,' may ſhew you mercy in the day of his righteous judgments. Amen.

Your friend, with the greateſt integrity, in the univerſal principle of love and truth.

W. PENN.

London, December the 14th, 1674.

Wiſdom

Wiſdom Juſtified of her Children,

FROM THE

IGNORANCE AND CALUMNY

OF

H. HALLYWEL,

IN HIS BOOK, CALLED

AN ACCOUNT of FAMILISM, as it is Revived and Propagated by the QUAKERS.

BY WILLIAM PENN.

But all theſe things will they do unto you for my name's ſake: Yea, the time cometh, that whoſoever killeth you, ſhall think he doth God ſervice. But be of good cheer, I have overcome the world. JOHN xv. 21. and xvi. 2. 33.

Publiſhed in the Year 1673.

Wisdom Justified of her Children,

FROM THE

IGNORANCE AND CALUMNY

OF

H. HALLYWELL,

In two Books, CARLTO

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Printed in the Year

TO THE

JUSTICES of the PEACE in the County of Suſſex.

A Certain perſon in your parts hath lately troubled himſelf and the world with a book, entitled, 'An Account of Familiſm, as it is revived and propagated by the Quakers;' and this dedicated to Sir J. Covert, knight and baronet, &c. How ill he ſpent his time in writing it, and how unadviſed he was in publiſhing it, an impartial peruſal of this ſmall diſcourſe will briefly, yet abundantly manifeſt.

I come not to you for protection, (a thing he and his cauſe wanted), but for impartiality and juſtice: truth is ſufficient to patronize and defend her own cauſe from the laſh of envy, without the weak auxiliaries of human force; ſhe gives ſanctuary to all that take to her for refuge, but is all-ſufficient to her own relief from the deepeſt preſſure, and moſt inveterate proſecutions of her implacable enemies. And though the evil diſpoſition of the world to receive her apologies, ſeems to conſpire with the indefatigable endeavours of her adverſaries to traduce her; yet her own pureſt innocency and unwearied patience have ever in the end broke forth, to ſuch a clear conviction of her oppoſers, as hath proved at once both their confutation and their ſhame.

And let it ſeem no riddle to you, that I write ſo aſſured of truth on our ſide. There is no objection our adverſary has made to the contrary, which we ſhall not eaſily remove. Our meanneſs in quality, breeding, literature, and fortunes in the world, (badges of reproach with him) will receive an ample parallel from the beſt perſons and times, and is ſo far from making to overthrow, that if the ſcripture and other ſtory be to be credited, they tell us, "that not many

"wiſe,

"wiſe, learned, or noble:" not that they are excluded; but, as perſons ſtumbled at the croſs of Chriſt, and the ſimplicity of the goſpel, through the power that greatneſs and pleaſure have with them, they exclude themſelves.

But ſince great and rich men have ſouls to be ſaved as well as poor, it is equally their concern to inform themſelves of that way which moſt aſſuredly leads to the reſt that is eternal. I confeſs the variety of ſects in the world to be a great diſcouragement, eſpecially when we conſider with what confidence each party pleads the truth and divine original of his own perſuaſion: but men are not to be ſatisfied with pretence, but evidence: education is too ſhort, nor will tradition reach far enough, to aſcertain any man of the verity of his perſuaſion.

Could the two firſt have done, there had been no need of relinquiſhing the Roman church, which was neither wanting in pretences, nor an education prejudiced enough againſt all reformation: and if tradition had been all-ſufficient, the direction of God's unerring grace, and the neceſſary convictions of mens reaſons, might have been ſpared.

For if men are to believe what is recommended for true, becauſe *recommended*, and not becauſe *true*, we are to believe we know not what; and ſhall be to ſeek ſo far for a reaſon for the hope that is in us, that in reality we can have no other anſwer to give, than that ſuch or ſuch told us ſo, and therefore we believe it: but if the ground of our faith ought to be more ſure and better founded, it will ſtand us greatly upon to examine, what is the reaſon we have to render for our faith and hope in God, and that belief we have of holy ſcripture? If we err here, our building is inſecure; and the danger is, that we ſhall not only one day loſe our faith, but, which is worſe, our ſouls too. This neceſſarily brings a man to a more inward ſearch and teſtimony, ſome divine principle in man, planted by God himſelf, which gives to believe "that God is, "and that he is a rewarder of them that fear him."

This

This the beſt Heathens, as well as Jews and Chriſtians, have highly venerated, and many are the teſtimonies they have left upon record, to the divine original, and excellent uſe of it, both to know God, and ourſelves: and truly it was this holy principle in all ages that hath attended mankind with thoſe checks, reproofs, and directions, by which he hath had any diſcerning of what ſhould, from what ſhould not, be done. This is that which hath given him the certain ſound and true reliſh of what God has ever required at his hand, as ſaid the prophet Micah, "God hath "ſhewed thee, O man, what is good, and what he "requires from thee; to do juſtice, love mercy, and "walk humbly with thy God," Mich. vi. 8. In the Pſalms thus, "Thou giveſt thy mouth to evil, and "thy tongue frameth deceit: thou ſitteſt and ſpeakeſt "againſt thy brother: theſe things haſt thou done, "and I kept ſilence: thou thoughteſt I was altogether "ſuch an one as thyſelf; but I will reprove thee, and "ſet them in order before thine eyes, ſaith the Lord." And the apoſtle Paul tells us, "Whatever may be "known of God is manifeſted within." And what can that be by which God ſo manifeſteth himſelf, but what Moſes called "the Word nigh, in the heart," that the children of Iſrael were to obey; that Job calls "Light," which the wicked rebel againſt, not loving the ways thereof: the like doth Chriſt, in John, when he complained, that men would not bring their deeds to be examined by it. In all ages hath the Almighty, more or leſs, pleaded his own cauſe in the conſciences of all people by this divine principle of light, however variouſly denominated: and whatever faith or hope man has, not grounded upon the diſcoveries, convictions, and directions of this, it is a by-rote faith, hope, and religion.

Therefore I beſeech you, to whom this diſcourſe is more particularly dedicated, to conſider of us, not by tradition, education, religions eſtabliſhed by human laws, or imperial decrees; but by that underſtanding which this 'Immortal law and everlaſting foundation

'of

'of virtue,' as Heathen Plutarch calls it, will afford you to judge us by.

It has been man's venturing to wade into the holy ſcriptures without this divine principle, that has cauſed ſo many fearful miſcarriages about religion. Something in man prompts him to religion; but man, being not wholly guided by that which ſo inſpires him with religious deſires, haſtily ſpoils all with the intermixture of his own fancies and conceits: and becauſe he is aſſured that what firſt inclined him was right, he ſticks not to ſtile his own inventions orthodox; and then, impatient of contradiction, with a fury as great as his ignorance, endeavours the overthrow of whatever ſtands in his way, and refuſes to receive his mark in his forehead, or in his right hand. This has occaſioned ſo much trumpery in religion; ceremonies, ſhew, and mere formality, have ſwallowed up the greateſt part of it: now were men brought to God's heavenly gift in themſelves, it would reclaim and leaven the mind, chain the affections, and bring religion into holy and ſelf-denying living, and erect an holy regimen in the heart and ſoul, by which the heavenly image would be renewed, and man become as one born again; without which tranſlation, there can be no entering into God's heavenly kingdom.

This the firſt Proteſtants made to be the reaſon of their revolt from Rome: for though it is true, that they charged the Papiſts with making GOD'S tradition (the holy ſcriptures) void by their numerous dark traditions; yet that which begot that holy loathing of Rome's ſuperſtitions, idolatries, and will-worſhip, was God's GRACE in their hearts; and their beſt argument againſt Rome's aſſaults was this, 'The ſcripture, which 'I believe from the teſtimony of the Spirit of God in 'me, and which I can only underſtand from the illu-'mination thereof, owns no ſuch thing, and therefore 'I reject it.'

Such as converſe with Luther and his followers, Zuinglius and his followers, will find this to have been the foundation of their whole work. And our

own

own martyrology is full to our purpoſe, particularly Tindal, Tims, and Philpot.

I omit to mention a whole cloud of witneſſes, becauſe I intend not to dwell here; only this I would be at, and I entreat you all to weigh it, whether any thing can give to underſtand aright, and enable to practiſe thoſe things of God, which it is neceſſary for man both to know and do, but God's light, grace, or word in the heart: what elſe can give us to reliſh the divine authority of the ſcriptures themſelves, or to believe the things therein treated of to be undeniable truths? Indeed, the want of this has been a great occaſion of Atheiſm; man making, practiſing, and enacting that for religion, of which people have had no aſſurance in themſelves: but if they ſhould ſpeak their hearts, it is more probable they do not believe it; but inſtead thereof deride it, and ſo, under a ſhew of religion, live as men without God in the world.

To prevent which, and to bring men to the true underſtanding of what God expects from them, in order to that great account they are to give unto him at the revelation of his righteous judgments, "when "he will judge the ſecrets of all men by Jeſus Chriſt," we do exhort all to Chriſt's pure, unerring light in the conſcience, (John viii. 12. 1 John i. 5, 6, 7.) which is ſufficient to daily underſtanding and duty; that what they believe and profeſs in matters of ſo high importance, they may be convinced in their very conſcience, by the good underſtanding the inſpiration of the Almighty gives, of the truth and neceſſity thereof; and not ſuffer themſelves to be carried away with the torrent of fathers, councils, ſynods, doctors, ſcholars, national conſtitutions, &c. (big, and moſt times untrue, and too often empty words) without that inward conviction and teſtimony of God's good Spirit in your own conſciences; the old proteſtant, and only primitive ground of true faith and obedience.

I know, and ſhall always acknowledge, that in the time of ignorance the Almighty winked; and that in every age he has expreſſed his regard to thoſe under

the various forms of religion ever in the world, who have been ſincere-hearted, and of ſober and conſcientious converſation: but I muſt alſo tell you, that by how much the more needleſs and unwarrantable cuſtoms, will-worſhip, and human religion built upon the dark and uncertain conjectures of men, are receded from, and the minds of people engaged in a diligent attendance upon that divine principle which only can clear up their underſtandings, and give them an experimental knowledge of the true God, and that way of worſhip and ſervice which may be moſt acceptable with him, by ſo much more certain will they be of the truth of their religion; inaſmuch as they have, over and above all external record, the aſſurance of unqueſtionable convictions in their own conſciences.

Thus God, who made heaven and earth, knows, we came to receive that knowledge of him, which we now expoſe ourſelves to all hardſhips to maintain.

We profeſſed God; but, like our neighbours, in works we denied him. We worſhipped him after man's conceivings; inſomuch that I may ſay, we worſhipped the unknown God in a falſe way. No doubt but we were ſtocked with the common talk of religion; 'but 'the croſs of Chriſt we were ſtrangers to.' His blood we extolled, 'whilſt by wicked works we trod 'it under foot;' and believed ourſelves ſaved by it, 'who were uncleanſed from ſin.' The whole end of his coming we eſteemed the top of all love; 'but 'never knew enough of it, truly kindled in our hearts, whereby to work 'ſuch faith and reſignation as could 'give us victory over the world.' Thus were we, Jews-like, children of God, 'whilſt we crucified the 'Son of God;' and of the ſeed of Abraham, 'whilſt 'the ſerpent's ſeed reigned;' heirs of the kingdom, 'yet not born again;' free, 'yet the bondſlaves of 'vanity.' O! at this time of day it was that God found us out, and broke in upon our ſouls with his righteous judgments for ſin, and laid judgment to the line, and righteouſneſs to the plummet, within us; the book of conſcience was opened, and great fear

fur-

ſurprized us, and deep ſorrow fell upon us, which brought that ſudden and ſtrange change, that made us both the deriſion of profane, and wonder of ſober men.

The author of the 'Account of Familiſm,' for want of more ſkill, and ſerioufneſs, calls it the hypochondria: as if it had been only a flux of melancholy overpowering the ſtrength of reaſon, and carrying the underſtanding captive at the impetuoſity of its fancies. But having been thus made ſenſible of the terrors of the Lord for ſin, and being brought into a true underſtanding of that religion and worſhip which moſt pleaſe God, ſome of us were conſtrained, and in conſcience bound, to go forth into the world, and publiſh theſe 'Tidings of judgment for ſin, and converſion, 'through righteouſneſs, wrought by the mighty power 'of God in the conſcience,' that all might be awakened to try their works, faiths, worſhips, and whole religions, whether they were of God or men; or whether they had been doing their own wills, or the will of God; that ſo they might be brought to experience God to be a God nigh at hand, reconciled in Chriſt, blotting out ſin, and renewing a right ſpirit within; by which their religion might not longer ſtand in the traditions of men, or on the education of parents, but upon the convictions and operations of God's grace in the conſcience. And thus is all that Chriſt did without, brought nigh and home to the very ſoul. The ſeed of the woman is known to bruiſe the head of the ſerpent; Chriſt, the Light, and Lamb that taketh away the ſins of the world, not only to take away the ſins paſt through remiſſion, but cleanſe from the nature, root, and ground of ſin, by his holy blood, which ſprinkles all conſciences that wait and walk in the light (the juſt man's path) from dead works, to ſerve the living God in uprightneſs for ever.

For this cauſe are we brought out into the world; and behold the veſſel we are embarked in, our lading, and the country we make for! the veſſel, *truth*; the lading, *faith* and *good works*; our ſouls, the *paſſengers*; and the country, the land of *everlaſting reſt*.

This I could not but preſent you with, that no endeavours of our enemies may be able to lodge a falſe character of us and our principles with you: though I muſt faithfully tell you, that I ſhould wrong my own reaſon, as well as your judgment, and ſpeak againſt my conſcience too, if I ſhould let in one thought of this man's ability to do us any great miſchief with you: for, out of no inſult, but in real truth, I take him for a very unſkilful pilot on our coaſt, a man unacquainted with our concerns; and a moſt incompetent perſon for an antagoniſt.

Accept (for I can aſk no excuſe for) my plainneſs. I have not fawned; I never could, and now much leſs: theſe matters not only deſerve, but require, the greateſt plainneſs. And men that believe they ſhall have to do with God, after they have left having to do with men, ought to act with greateſt circumſpection and ſincerity. Remember your original, remember your end; and know aſſuredly that, but "Breath is in your "noſtrils; and for every deed done in this mortal "body, whether it be good, or whether it be evil, will "God, the righteous judge, require an account from "you before his great tribunal;" where may you all be able to anſwer with joy!

I am your faithful friend,

WILLIAM PENN.

WISDOM JUSTIFIED OF HER CHILDREN, FROM THE IGNORANCE AND CALUMNY OF H. HALLYWEL.

CHAP. I.

His EPISTLE conſidered.

THE adverſary we have to do withal begins his dedicatory epiſtle thus, 'The daily and numerous increaſe of the heretical generation of Quakers 'in theſe parts, made me a little more than ordinarily 'inquiſitive into their doctrines and perſuaſions; which 'I found not only deſtructive of civil government, 'but of religion itſelf.'

It is natural with ignorance to be proud, and envy to ſlander. His enquiry has been at our adverſaries doors, not ours. They that read him, and thoſe books that lately came out, may know his informers without farther coſt: but book-robbery, though to untruth, is an old prieſt-trick.

If his ſort of rendering us inconſiſtent with government could incenſe the civil magiſtrate to our deſtruction, we know very well traducers would not be wanting. Truth has never been perſecuted under its own name: hereſy is an old blot the devil has caſt upon it, that it may become ſuſpected with the ſimple; and Chriſtians were of old worried in beaſt-ſkins: ſuch coverings the preſent heathen ſpirit has provided for us. But as we cannot but bleſs the name of Almighty God, that he has brought us to the knowledge of his good old way of "Truth in the inward parts;[a]" ſo do we affirm it to be neither averſe from government, nor deſtructive of religion; right government being according to it; and pure religion being "to keep

[a] Jer. 34. Heb. viii. 10.

" ourſelves unſpotted from the world,[b]" and to do, or ſuffer, which we have ever done; and God knows, to that is the tendency of our holy principle, to wit, moderation, juſtice, induſtry, temperance, and upright converſation. But the true Engliſh of this wicked ſuggeſtion is no more than this; the Quakers and their perſuaſion are inconſiſtent with will-worſhippers, hirelings, men-pleaſers, perſecutors, and oppreſſors: they give the world an alarm for theſe things, and round their ears with the neceſſity of walking in ſo ſtrait and narrow a way, as gives great diſquiet to the libertine, and brings the prieſt's qualification into great queſtion, and his trade into abſolute danger.

No wonder, then, ſo many hard names are caſt upon us, to deter ſuch as are unacquainted with us; and beget ſcruples in them that are well-diſpoſed to us. However, this contentment this paragraph gives, that notwithſtanding all this oppoſition, 'we daily and 'numerouſly increaſe,' for which my ſoul is greatly glad, and my knees bow to the God and Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that he would continue to proſper and ſpeed his own great work of redemption in the earth. But he goes on:

'For what elſe can be expected from them, who 'deny the ſcripture to be the word of God, and rule 'and guide in matters of ſalvation?'

Anſw. We do not deny the ſcriptures to be the word of God, and rule and guide in matters of ſalvation, out of any undervalue of them; but from that reverent regard we have to CHRIST, the great and eminent WORD, " who was with God, and was God, " by whom all things were made; who is the way, " truth, and life, the great Prophet, Judge, Law-" giver, and Prieſt to his people, whoſe lips preſerve " knowledge.[c]" He is the new covenant rule and judge; and without him we can never underſtand, nor believe the ſcriptures as we ſhould do: nay, ſo far are they from being a rule, &c. that a thouſand caſes may

[b] Jam. i. 27. [c] John xiv. Acts vii. 37.

happen

happen wherein they cannot be a direction to us. Nay, they may be *burned, drowned, torn, loſt, miſtranſlated, added to, diminiſhed*; men may be *robbed* of them, *impriſoned* from them; but none of all this can or ought to be ſaid of the great *goſpel rule:* God has ever been ſufficient to his people in every age; and ſince they only are "children of God, who are led by the Spirit "of God," and that it is "the Spirit of God alone "which leads into all truth," it follows that the law of the ſpirit of life, writ in the HEART, and not a law writ on *paper* (a ſtate leſs excellent than the Jews, whoſe law was written upon *ſtone*) is the *great evangelical rule of living:* yet are the ſcriptures an holy declaration of the word of God, and of the rule and guide in matters of ſalvation: and we reject for ever that ſpirit which leads into thoſe principles and practices, that in the leaſt contradict the ſtanding and permanent truths therein mentioned: for they were written by holy men of God, being inſpired thereto, and contain godly reproof, admonition, exhortation, and prophecies, for the edification of the church, and perfecting the man of God to every good word and work, through faith in Chriſt Jeſus; and as ſuch, many directions, precepts, and rules, are therein laid down: yet they all refer to the grace, light, ſpirit, word, or anointing within, as that by which man ought to be ruled, governed, and ordered, to God's glory and his own comfort,[d] as they firſt were who gave them forth; for they were witneſſes of the truth of what they writ. So that they are an holy declaration of the way of God, and that holy principle which leads to it, and in it; without which the book is ſealed, the ſcriptures are unknown; and conſequently not the ſcriptures, but that *holy key* of David, is the rule, how far, and which way, we are both to underſtand, interpret, believe, and practiſe them.

[d] Tit. ii. 11, 12. John iii. 19, 20, 21. Rom. viii. 13, 14. 1 John ii. 27. Read 'Quakeriſm, a new nick-name for old Chriſtianity,' from pag. 24, to pag. 202. Alſo 'Reaſon againſt Railing,' from pag. 24, to pag. 47.

This may be enough to ſhew the diſingenuity of our adverſary in repreſenting us to his knight: for becauſe we cannot give that title and office due to Chriſt himſelf, from him, to his bare declaration, he would inſinuate that we refuſe all conformity to the holy examples and teſtimonies therein related and expreſſed, as if we were a moſt diſſolute crew of libertines.

But he tells us, 'That this perſon (whoſe name I 'ſuppoſe we ſhall prove he has made too bold with) 'ſo well knowing our obſtinate and perverſe humour, 'in the diſcharge of his truſts committed to him under 'his moſt ſacred majeſty, he could do no leſs than pre-'ſent him with this treatiſe; that going under the name 'and protection of ſo worthy and accompliſhed a per-'ſon, it may in ſome meaſure obtain its deſired effect, 'by putting a ſtop to the growing evil, and confirm-'ing thoſe who are not ſeduced in the truth of their 'profeſſion.' A moſt nonſenſical expreſſion.

Anſw. But I am willing to hope better things of him, than that he ſhould go upon the prieſt's meſſage, or turn their knight-errant. But what is the matter that the Quakers are ſo perverſe? They cannot ſay 'right worſhipful,' becauſe they think that of right belongs to God; nor 'moſt ſacred majeſty,' that being fit for no mortal man: neither can they lie and flatter with 'your moſt obliged and affectionate ſer-'vant, for they are more obliged to God than man, and to one man more than another. He either knew not, forgot, or ſlighted the rebuke of Paulinus to Sulpitius Severus, who ſaid, 'It becometh not Chriſt's 'freemen to ſubſcribe themſelves ſervant,' &c. But it is nothing with ſuch as our adverſary to cog, lie, and flatter: it is one part of his manners.

I would fain know what rule he had for all this? Did the holy prophets and apoſtles teach him any ſuch traſh? Will he prate of ſcripture for a rule, and yet bridle his flattering tongue no better? The cuſtoms of the Heathens have entered the profeſſion of Chriſtianity; and that old ſpirit, under this new trim, goes off for a very good Chriſtian.

'O! but

'O! but the Quakers are obſtinate in other caſes, 'for all this!'

Anſ. Why ſo? Becauſe they will by all means ſtand to their principles; they will not play the ſycophants; threats do not fright them, nor promiſes gain them; they love their conſcience above their conveniency; and ſeek to pleaſe God rather than men. Perhaps, *this* ſort of men the *knight* has found them, but could have wiſhed them more pliant to the laws, it may be, that he might have ſome colour to be kind: muſt therefore this buſy-body intitle his name to all his own follies, lies, and ſlanders againſt us? What can any moderate perſon think, but that the patron of ſuch diſcourſe has been an eminent perſecutor, whoſe protection is ſo plainly called for to a book that without doubt would have him ſo? For my part, I think the knight ought to repute that ignorant and diſingenuous diſcourſe ſo far from being a teſtimony how much the author is his moſt obliged and affectionate ſervant, that for intereſting his name and power therein, he ſhould hereafter look upon him as an enemy to him, his name, and family.

Before I conclude, give me leave to aſk him, why he ſought for protection? Is his national cauſe, defended by princes, parliaments, navies, armies, the learned, rich and powerful clergy, both univerſities, the generality of the gentry and commonalty, ſo weak and gaſping? Or are the poor, deſpiſed, traduced, and trodden-down Quakers ſo potent and terrible, that a book of eight ſheets dare not peep out againſt them, but a big title muſt be got to recommend and patronize it? But how worthy ſoever the knight be, that will not hinder my proceeding to ſhew the unworthineſs of the book, and therein of the author, as well to his patron, as the deſpiſed Quakers.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Containing an anſwer to his firſt chapter, in which he pretends an agreement to be between the Quakers, and other ancient and modern hereticks.

The compariſon examined, and proved defective.

OUR adverſary, that he may the better prejudice his reader againſt us, introduceth his diſcourſe with a compariſon of us to the moſt noted and odious of the reputed ancient and modern hereticks; doubtleſs hoping, that what he wants of argument to render us ſuch, may be ſupplied by that ill opinion men have of thoſe he brings us into parallel with. The firſt man he thought fit to pitch upon is Simon Magus, a man famous for his infamous ſorceries, with whom he wickedly yokes that faithful miniſter of God, George Fox, 'becauſe,' ſaith he, 'Simon Magus gave out 'that he was God the Father; and George Fox, be-'fore the juſtices at Lancaſter, that he was equal with 'God.'

Anſ. There is no believing a decimating, perſecuting prieſt againſt a Quaker, till he makes more conſcience of telling lies, who hath given too many demonſtrations of his deſire to have us run down at any rate, to be credited by thoſe who love truth more than partiality.

George Fox denies the words; they were never ſo ſpoken by him; much leſs were they ever intended in that way our adverſary takes and improves them. For though there be not an equality, yet there is an unity, as teſtifieth the ſcripture; "Let the ſame mind be in "you, that was alſo in Chriſt Jeſus, who being in the "form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal "with God.[e]" And "He that ſanctifieth, and they "that are ſanctified, are all of one; for which cauſe

[e] Phil. ii. 6.

"he

" he is not aſhamed to call them brethren.[f]" Again, " They that are joined to the Lord are one ſpirit;" and, " He that doth righteouſneſs is righteous, even " as he is righteous.[g]" To deny this, is to deny the moſt heavenly benefit we have by Chriſt, namely, that unity and fellowſhip we have with the Father and with the Son. That it was an unity, not an equality, eſpecially in the ſenſe he takes the word, the faithful narrative of that proceeding, printed in the year 1654, will farther teſtify.

How great then muſt this man's miſcarriage be, who, to render a good man an impoſtor, turns forger himſelf! but God will reward him.

The next pair he pitches upon to prove his aſſertion, is Menander and James Naylor (p. 3.) 'The one for 'affirming himſelf to be ſent from the inviſible re-'gions to be the ſaviour of mankind: and James 'Naylor for aſſerting himſelf to be Chriſt, and ac-'cepting hoſannahs and divine worſhip in the ſtreets 'of Briſtol.'

Anſ. What Menander was I know not; and it is hard believing a character of any man, when it is given by his enemy: but ſure I am that James Naylor never aſſerted himſelf to be the Chriſt of God; neither did he ever deny him that appeared at Jeruſalem to be the Lord's Chriſt, as his writings plentifully declare, eſpecially one paper written by him to the then parliament, when a priſoner in Bridewell.

'Chriſt Jeſus, the Emmanuel (of whoſe ſufferings 'the ſcriptures declare) him alone I confeſs before 'men; for whoſe ſake I have denied whatever was 'dear to me in this world, that I might win him, and 'be found in him, and not in myſelf; whom alone I 'ſeek to ſerve in body, ſoul, and ſpirit, night and 'day, according to the meaſure of grace working in 'me; even to that Eternal Spirit be glory, and to 'the Lamb for ever. But to aſcribe this power and 'virtue to James Naylor, or for that to be exalted or

[f] Heb. ii. 11. [g] 1 Joh. iii. 7.

'wor-

'worſhipped, to me is great idolatry. So having an 'opportunity given (with readineſs) I am willing, 'in the fear of God the Father, and in honour to 'Chriſt Jeſus, to take off all offences from every ſim-'ple heart, without guile or deceit.'

His third compariſon lies betwixt Photinus, who is ſaid to have denied the Trinity, and G. Fox, as guilty of the ſame error in his account, pag. 4.

Anſ. I can find no ſuch place in the book ſo called: either our adverſary ſets up for a new controvertiſt, or he diſhoneſtly ſhunned giving us the page: but I am willing to believe, that he took it as he found it in ſome other adverſary; for any thing reported or printed againſt a Quaker, is ground enough for an envious prieſt to accuſe him.

But what if G. Fox denied the unſcriptural expreſſions, viz. the Trinity of diſtinct and ſeparate *Perſons?* muſt it neceſſarily follow that he denied the "Three "that bear record in heaven, the Father, Word, and "Spirit?[h]" We juſtly renounce thoſe barbarous ſchool terms, as not ſuited to God's heavenly manifeſtations, but the dark conceits of ſome popiſh doctors.

His fourth compariſon is made between Socinus and James Naylor, in that the one denied the 'Satiſ-'faction of Jeſus Chriſt, and looked upon his paſſion 'only as an example. The other, in that he affirmed, 'the end for which Chriſt did ſuffer, was to be a liv-'ing example to all generations.' Love to the loſt, p. 50.

Anſ. He has not truly delivered the opinion of Socinus, whoſe books ſhew, however miſtaken about Chriſt's divinity, that he ever eſteemed his death and paſſion to have more in it than a bare example: nor has he faithfully dealt with J. Naylor in this quotation; for firſt, I find not the words as cited; and next, the word ONLY is by himſelf omitted, which alone renders the paſſage heterodox. Suppoſe then that J.

[h] 1 John v.

Naylor

Naylor writ, 'That Chriſt was in his ſuffering a liv-
'ing example to all generations;' is there no differ-
ence between Chriſt's being in his death and paſſion
only our example, which he charges upon Socinus, and
Chriſt's being our living example in *ſuffering*, which
he attributes to J. Naylor? How can there be a com-
pariſon, where there is ſo great a diſparity? The firſt
is denied by all that own Chriſt: the laſt is owned by
all that do not deny Peter, who thus writ to the ſcat-
tered brethren, "For even hereunto were ye called,
"becauſe Chriſt alſo ſuffered for us, leaving us an
"example that ye ſhould follow his ſteps." 1 Pet.
ii. 21.

His fifth compariſon he makes between the Valenti-
nians and the Quakers. 'The former,' he ſays, 'ar-
'rogated to themſelves a knowledge beyond Chriſt
'and his apoſtles; the latter impudently throw away
'the written word of God, and delude the credulous
'vulgar, with new-fangled revelations;' which he
thinks he has proved by two inſtances: 1. That
Tho. Holbrow, a Quaker, to one that urged ſcrip-
ture, anſwered, 'What doſt thou tell me of ſcrip-
'ture, which is no more to me than an old alma-
'nack?' 2. That Fox and Hubberthorn, in a book
called Truth's Defence, ſay, 'The ſcriptures are no
'ſtanding rule, and it is dangerous for ignorant peo-
'ple to read them.'[1]

Anſ. To the firſt I ſay, there is great difference be-
tween one that was *no* Quaker, and one that *was* or
is a Quaker: we have examined the matter, and by all
we can find, both that ſaying is not true as charged,
and it is of an ancienter date than the coming of any
of our friends into thoſe parts; therefore not the ſay-
ing of a *true* Quaker. To the ſecond I return thus
much, It is true there is ſuch a book, and it was writ-
ten by G. Fox and R. Hubberthorn; but he has not
given us ſo much as one page to direct us to the paſ-
ſage: ſo that either people muſt read till they find it,

[1] Page 4, 5, 6.

or

or elſe take his perverſion for our aſſertion. Unworthy man! does he think us ſuch wretches, that we deſerve not common juſtice? Methinks juſtice ſhould not be denied where ſo little mercy is ſhewn.

But to anſwer the inſtance. Our judgment about the ſcriptures being the rule, we have already delivered: and in what ſenſe it is dangerous to read them, their own book will declare.

'It is dangerous,' ſay G. Fox and R. Hubberthorn, 'to read the ſcripture in order to make war againſt 'the ſaints, to give carnal expoſitions upon them, and 'meanings contrary to them, and to make a trade of 'them; but bleſſed is he that doth read and doth 'underſtand them.' If this prove that ſlight to ſcripture our adverſary would ſuggeſt them to be guilty of, then let us be condemned: but God's witneſs in every unfeared conſcience will acquit them, and judge him for corrupt citation, and hard ſpeeches, who dares to cry thereupon, 'Are not theſe as impudent 'hereticks as the Valentinians?' whom he repreſents to have arrogated to themſelves a knowledge above Chriſt and his apoſtles: which, how true ſoever it may be of them, I am ſure is falſe enough of us; for thoſe hideous conſequences he makes, are not deducible from any unperverted ſaying to be cited out of 'Truth's Defence.'

And leſt any ſhould think we deny, with the Papiſts, the peruſal of the ſcriptures to ignorant people, from what our adverſary ſays, know that they ſpoke of ſuch ignorant and unlearned perſons, as, in reading, "wreſted them to their own deſtruction." Now unleſs it be not dangerous to read to deſtruction, they are not chargeable with blame in that matter.

But who are the knowing and learned? The Jewiſh doctors, and Greek philoſophers? No, but fiſhermen, and poor mechanicks, diſcipled in Chriſt's ſchool, for the excellency of whoſe knowledge Paul reputed his Gamaliel-acquiſitions but droſs and dung: ſo that their knowing and learned are many times the ignorant and unlearned we ſpeak of, "whoſe wiſdom God will

"confound,

" confound, and whoſe underſtanding he will bring " to nought."

His laſt compariſon of us in this chapter, is with Marcus, an old heretick. The agreement he makes betwixt us 'lies in our mutual pretences to inſpiration 'and prophecy.' For as he reports him to have 'abuſed many ſilly women, under colour of confer-'ring on them the gift of propheſying, and that he 'had a familiar ſpirit, by which he brought himſelf 'into credit with his deluded followers;' ſo he tells us that 'he has had it confidently affirmed, that about 'the firſt riſe of the Quakers, in the North of Eng-'land, ſeveral perſons, by gloves, and ribbands, and 'divers charms, were really bewitched by them. And 'doubtleſs many of their quaking fits were real poſ-'ſeſſions by the devil.[k]'

Anſ. What Marcus was, is nothing to us: if he has done amiſs, he has anſwered for it by this time. I confeſs I am not over fond of the characters left us of ancient hereticks, knowing what kind of creatures the beſt Proteſtants are with Papiſts; and what fearful monſters ſeveral ſober ſeparatiſts are reputed among ſome Proteſtants: but this I know, if what he hath ſaid of ſeveral ancients be no truer than what he hath ſaid of us, he has groſsly abuſed their doctrines and their memories.[l]

For the witchcraft of gloves, ribbands, and charms, it is ſcarce worthy my notice; his folly in mentioning it being a ſufficient reproof and confutation to himſelf. A ſtory fit for none, at this time of day, to report or believe, but a man of his ſize. I thought they had been worn out by this time.

But let the ſober reader judge, which favours moſt of Satan's deſign, this idle, yet ſcandalous, ſtory, or our 'fearing and trembling at the word of the Lord, 'and thoſe terrors that broke in upon our ſouls, be-'cauſe of ſin and iniquity?' It is but the old ſpirit of mockery, that actuated the Jews and Heathens

[k] Pag. 6. [l] Pag. 7.

againſt

againſt the Chriſtians, and Papiſts againſt Proteſtants, and too many Proteſtants of ſeveral ſorts, againſt ſome more reformed ſeparatiſts.

For had the reverent fear of God poſſeſſed our adverſary's heart, in the writing of this diſcourſe, there had been no room for ſuch irreligious ſcoffs againſt an inoffenſive people. But the devil, becauſe he would be God, calls God the devil, and Chriſt Beelzebub; light, darkneſs; and the power of God the power of Satan; and the fear and trembling brought by the one, the poſſeſſions and witchcrafts of the other. Certainly ſuch men live in a dry land, they ſee not when good cometh. But what will not an enraged tything prieſt do to deſtroy us, who, he knows, are diſcoverers of ſuch deluders?

CHAP. III.

His pretended agreement between the authors of familiſm and the Quakers conſidered. His objections anſwered.

I Now come to conſider the reaſon of the title of his book, and what ground he had to name us the revivers and propagators of familiſm, with the moſt weighty objections he makes againſt us; if in truth I may repute the ſtrongeſt of them ſuch; and that with what brevity, truth, and faithfulneſs I can.

'The great authors of this doctrine of familiſm,' he ſays, 'were David George and Henry Nicholas; 'but more eſpecially the latter, as having more im-'proved and diſſeminated the pernicious errors intro-'duced by the former.' He beſtows many ſevere expreſſions upon them, more, I think, than becomes a man of any charity to give. I am not their advocate; but ſo much ſpleen, and ſo little reaſon, againſt dead men, can be neither chriſtian, nor manly. What he ſays they held, and how far we are concerned in it, it is our buſineſs to enquire.

§ 1. Of

§. 1. Of Chriſt's miniſtration.

And firſt he tells us, that H. N. ſhould ſay, 'That 'not only the law of Moſes, but the miniſtration of 'Chriſt and his apoſtles, were only temporary things, 'inſtituted to bring men to the perfect reign of the 'Spirit; and then, like horn-books and primmers to 'grown underſtandings, to be thrown away,' p. 10, 11. And that this is the full ſenſe of the Quakers,' ſays our adverſary, p. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14. 'hear John 'Crook, a Quaker; "We believe, by the ſame gift "of grace, that there are ſeveral miniſtrations, and "ſeveral operations, according to 1 Cor. 12. and all "by the ſame Spirit; as before and after the law by "Moſes, and after by John the Baptiſt, and Chriſt "and his apoſtles. And by this Spirit were the ſcrip-"tures given forth, and the holy men of God did "ſpeak, propheſy, preach, and pray, as they were "moved; and to anſwer the ſervice God had for "them to do, they were to wait, as Chriſt com-"manded his diſciples, to receive the promiſe of the "Father.——And therefore as it was the practice of "the people of God, in old time, to wait for the "moving of this Spirit, that they might ſpeak as it "gave them utterance in the evidence and demon-"ſtration thereof; ſo do this people, called Quakers, "now." Upon which our adverſary dares to obſerve, 'That we, with the Familiſts, deny the miniſtration 'of Chriſt to be the miniſtration of the Spirit;' and conſequently charges us with a blaſphemous deroga-tion from the honour of our bleſſed Saviour, who ſaid to his apoſtles, John xvi. 14. "He ſhall receive of "mine, and ſhew it unto you."

Anſ. If our adverſary's weakneſs has run him into this ſtrange parallel, he is to be pitied; but if his envy, he is ſeverely to be rebuked. Will any man that has ſenſe or honeſty ſay, it is all one to affirm that Chriſt's miniſtration is 'an horn-book that time 'caſts off with infancy;' and that it is 'a waiting to

'receive the ſame ſpirit Chriſt commanded his apoſtles 'to wait for, as the promiſe of the Father, and the 'peculiar gift of his own miniſtration?' Does not J. Crook expreſsly draw a parallel between the holy men of God of old, and the Quakers of our time; that as they then, ſo the Quakers now, wait to be taught, moved, and ordered by the ſame eternal Spirit, through which all come to be baptized into one body? How was that then no ſpiritual miniſtration, when we deſire to be conformed unto the ſpirit and holy example thereof; not making this a new, but reviving that old and durable miniſtration of the ſpirit? Therefore "blaſphemous derogations" will return to our adverſary, as unduly charged upon us, with a charge upon him of baſe derogation from the truth of our belief.

But he thinks that Humph. Smith has made much for him in thus querying; p. 15. 'Whether ſhould 'people be led in theſe days by Moſes, according to 'his outward miniſtration, or the perſon of Chriſt, '(limiting him to his viſible appearance) or the ſpirit 'of truth, which he promiſed to pour out after his 'aſcenſion?' which contains the ſubſtance of what he quotes out of Humph. Smith, and to which he thus anſwers: 'There is no ſober Chriſtian can read this 'paſſage without anger and diſdain, to ſee ſuch wicked 'wretches ſcoff, and fleeringly inſult upon the ſacred 'perſon of our Lord Jeſus: the whole hiſtory of 'whoſe life and death, in the letter of it, they eſteem 'no better than one of Æſop's fables.'

Anſ. But our adverſary will not ſo eaſily eſcape the hands of the juſt God, "whoſe is vengeance," for theſe ungodly defamations, as he well knows he may do ours: anger, diſdain, and lies, become him, and it is little to be wondered that he ſhould be guilty of them all againſt a Quaker. If H. Smith had aſſerted 'that Moſes could not be our leader, neither the vi-'ſible perſon of Chriſt, but the ſpirit of truth," he had not exceeded the warrant of ſcripture, nor the very judgment of this reviler. It is not two pages off

that

that he quoted John xvi. 14. "He ſhall receive of "mine, and ſhall ſhew it unto you:" which, if I underſtand any thing, imports thus much; 'That 'thoſe things which they knew not whilſt Chriſt was 'with them, after his aſcenſion the Holy Ghoſt ſhould 'reveal unto them,' as theſe two preceding verſes fully prove. "I have yet many things to ſay unto "you, but ye cannot bear them now; howbeit, when "the Spirit of Truth is come, he will guide you into "all truth, and he will ſhew you things to come." Nay, Chriſt himſelf ſays in the 7th verſe, "Never-"theleſs I tell you the truth; it is expedient for you "that I go away: for if I go not away, the Com-"forter will not come unto you." And in the xivth chap. verſe 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, he ſpeaks thus, "I "will pray the Father, and he will give you another "Comforter, and he will abide with you for ever, "even the Spirit of Truth:" ſo that the *perſonal* miniſtration was manifeſtly tranſient and temporary; but that of the SPIRIT was to abide for ever. But I would not any ſhould think it to be leſs Chriſt's miniſtration, becauſe the miniſtration of the Spirit; for the LORD is that Spirit, as his own words manifeſt: again, "I will not leave you comfortleſs, I will come "to you. Yet a little while, and the world ſeeth me "no more, but ye ſee me: becauſe I live, ye ſhall "live alſo; for he that dwelleth with you, ſhall be "in you. At that day you ſhall know that I am in "my Father, and you in me, and I in you." And that this Comforter is Chriſt, in his ſpiritual coming and appearance, let it be farther obſerved, that the ſame word for *Comforter* (Παρακλητος) in John xvi. 7. is the word uſed by the ſame apoſtle in the firſt verſe of the 2d chapter of his firſt epiſtle, for *advocate*, when he ſays, "We have an advocate with the Father, Jeſus "Chriſt the righteous."

In ſhort, the diſpenſation of his viſible appearance was but temporary: "It is expedient for you that I "go away." But his miniſtration, who ſo appeared, then diſappeared, and after re-appeared, is a ſpiritual

and unalterable miniſtration, " Lo, I am with you to " the end of the world, Mat. xxviii. 20. And truly thus much our adverſary (p. 13.) in contradiction to himſelf, grants us, that ' the miniſtration of Chriſt ' was indeed the miniſtration of the Spirit.' Now what ſcoffs, fleerings, or inſults againſt the ſacred perſon of our Lord Jeſus any can ſee in this doctrine, to incite a ſober Chriſtian to anger and diſdain, I leave to any but ſuch an angry diſdainful enemy to judge.

I cannot forget this horrible lie of us, concerning the ſcripture, ſtolen probably out of an Anabaptiſt's lying dialogue lately printed againſt us. Prelaticks and ſectaries can ſometimes agree againſt Quakers. Æſop's fables have more worth in them than all the books that ever were written againſt the Quakers: I do not all doubt but there are twenty fables in Æſop, that, well conſidered, would have taught them more diſcretion, and (it ſhould have been their own fault if not) more honeſty too, than any or all of them have ſhewn in their utmoſt endeavours againſt us. But that we have ' no more regard to, nor belief in, the holy ſcriptures of truth, than in Æſop's fables,' is a ſtory more profane and fabulous than any fable in Æſop; and God will recompence with a vengeance this defamer of an innocent people, unleſs diverted by his unfeigned repentance.

§. 2. Of Revelation.

He tells us, ' The ſecond thing wherein the Fami- ' liſts and Quakers are all one, is the pretence of ' immediate revelation. Dav. Geo. and H. N. both ' pretended to receive their doctrine from the angel ' Gabriel. And W. Gibſon, the Quaker, ſays, p. 16. ' that the goſpel which they preach they have not re- ' ceived it from men, nor from books, nor from wri- ' tings, but by the revelation of Jeſus Chriſt in them; ' and then denies the ſcriptures of the Old and New ' Teſtament to be the revealed will of God.'

Anſ.

Anſ. After what manner D. G. and H. N. received their commiſſion I know not; but ſure I am that W. Gibſon's aſſertion is ſound. Take away revelation, and the goſpel ceaſes of courſe; Chriſt is put beſide the dignity of his prophetical and prieſtly office; the promiſes of God will be broken; and the moſt excellent part of the ſcriptures, God's traditions, made void. Who was it ſaid, "A Prophet ſhall the Lord "your God raiſe up like unto me, Deut. xviii. 18. "HIM ſhall ye hear in all things. There is a ſpirit in "man; and the inſpiration of the Almighty giveth "underſtanding, Job xxxii. 8. As for me, this is "my covenant with him, ſaith the Lord, My Spirit "that is upon thee, and my words which I have put "in thy mouth, ſhall not depart out of thy mouth, "nor out of the mouth of thy ſeed, nor out of the "mouth of thy ſeed's ſeed, ſaith the Lord, from "henceforth and for ever," Iſa. lix. 21. "I will *re-* "*veal* unto them the abundance of peace and truth," Jer. xxxiii. 6. "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of "heaven and earth, becauſe thou haſt hid theſe things "from the wiſe and prudent, and haſt *revealed* them "unto babes."—And no man knoweth the Father but "the Son, and he to whom the Son will *reveal* him." Matt. xi. 25, 27. "No man can come unto me, "except the Father, which hath ſent me, draw him." John vi. 44. "But God hath revealed them unto us "by his Spirit. For the Spirit ſearcheth all things, "yea, the deep things of God. For the things of "God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God." 1 Cor. ii. 10, 11. chap. xiv. 30. "If any thing "ſhould be *revealed* to another that ſitteth by, let the "firſt hold his peace. For when it pleaſed God to "*reveal* his Son in me.-----For I neither received the "goſpel of man, neither was I taught it, but by the "*revelation* of Jeſus Chriſt." Gal. i. 12. 16. "If "any be otherwiſe minded, God will *reveal* it to "him," Phil. iii. 15. As I ſaid before, ſo again, *who* uttered theſe excellent ſayings, and for what end? If no *inſpiration*, no *underſtanding*: if no *revelation*, no

knowledge: and if the Spirit ceaſe to teach, (as it can never teach, but by inſpiration or revelation) then the adminiſtration of Chriſt and his apoſtles is ceaſed indeed: and ſo not the Quakers, but their adverſary overturns the goſpel miniſtration, as begun and preached by Chriſt and his apoſtles. And be it known to all the world, we think *revelation* no diſgrace to our cauſe. Parrots may *learn* ſcripture, but can never *experience* it. And thoſe know little better, who know not by experience: they are unprofitable canters indeed, who confidently talk of what they never felt; and idle boaſters, who buoy up themſelves unto the reputation of miniſters and Chriſtians, with a loud talk of their travels, trials, inſpirations, and experiences, whom they plainly mock in their poſterity; concluding all blind, becauſe themſelves cannot ſee. In ſhort, let it be the character of the deſpiſed Quakers, (and we glory in it) that all the councils, ſynods, univerſities, doctors, ſcholars, and the moſt unanimous decrees, learned books, and whatever the power and art of the ſpirit of man can produce, will never be able to give, or rule, that true faith which overcomes the world: for "that which may be known "of God is manifeſt within man:" and though outward records may teſtify of and direct to that unerring light and ſpirit, by which man comes both to know God, and to be made conformable to his heavenly image; yet nothing below the diſcoveries, convictions, and effectual operations of the Eternal Spirit, can give man the certain knowledge of God, nor that daily ability by which alone he may be enabled to obey him.

Pag. 16, 17, 18. But he oppoſeth to us 'Miracles 'and reaſon; inſinuating that we have no more of the 'laſt than the firſt, and therefore not to be believed.' To the firſt, I ſay, we pretend to no other religion, than what was profeſſed and practiſed by the apoſtles, and therefore need no new miracles after that manner to confirm that which has been confirmed by miracles already; eſpecially to thoſe who believe thoſe miracles;

cles: and to deny revelation where there are no miracles, is to diſcard many of the prophets, and to deny the pouring forth of the ſpirit upon the primitive Chriſtians. But, above all, hear the man's interpretation of Deut. xviii. 22. "When a prophet ſpeaks in "the name of the Lord, if the thing follow not, nor "come to paſs;" that is, ſaith this horrible perverter of holy ſcripture, 'if he do no miracle;' whereas the verſe intends no ſuch thing. Is this to rant over the Quakers for ideots, as if he were ſome doctor of the chair, that where the ſcripture ſpeaks of *prophecy*, he ſhould render it *miracle*; as if he that is a prophet, is a worker of miracles, and that miracles and prophecy are equivalent? But *(argumentum ad hominem)* let us ſee how it will hold. 'He that is a true prophet 'muſt neceſſarily work miracles: but the prieſts of 'England cannot work miracles; therefore, the prieſts 'of England are all falſe prophets.' A true concluſion, yet falſe premiſes: a paradox. Now for the reaſonableneſs of our doctrine: 'he thinks a very mean 'capacity can find none in it; for how ſhould there 'be any reaſon in what they teach, when they them-'ſelves,' ſays he, 'deny the uſe of reaſon. (pag. 18.) But none have leſs than they which pretend to ſo much. This man dares ſwagger for *reaſon*, and yet cries out, *hereſy*, as ſoon as he ſees it. *His* reaſon is, *the authority of his church*; the *ſay-ſo* of ſome *univerſity doctor*; finally, *the works of ſome learned men:* and offer never ſo much reaſon and conſcience againſt them, and your reaſon is *ſophiſtry*, and conſcience, *enthuſiaſm*. The juſteſt ſeparation in the world is with ſuch but *ſchiſm*; and, which is the laſt ſtratagem, ſuch perſons muſt be enemies to *Cæſar*. But I may ſay of thoſe men, as Heraclitus ſaid of their forefathers, 'If blind 'men were to judge of ſight, they would ſay blindneſs 'were ſight.' God is the fountain as well of reaſon as light: and we aſſert our principle not to be without reaſon, but moſt reaſonable; whence it is frequent with us, in our reproof of cruel men, to ſay 'they 'are unreaſonable,' whether it be to man or beaſt,

making good what the prophet ſaith, "For his God "doth inſtruct him to diſcretion, and doth teach "them." Again, "Come and let us reaſon together." And Tertullian will have the firſt verſe of John thus rendered; "In the beginning was reaſon, and that "reaſon was with God, and that reaſon was God; by "that were all things made," &c. And this ſeems no foreign interpretation; for in the 10th verſe of Jude we have "ſenſual men not having the Spirit," called ἄλογα ζῶα, *unreaſonable creatures*; according to which the apoſtle ſpeaks, ἕτοιμοι πρὸς ἀπολογίαν παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντι λόγον, "to him that aſks reaſon, be ready to give it."

Thus much (to overlook our own tranſlation in Paul's ſecond epiſtle to the Theſſalonians, where he calls ſuch "Unreaſonable men that have not faith,)" concerning reaſon: ſo that it is very evident by our adverſary's denying, and the Quakers aſſerting an unerrable principle to be in man, and the refuſal of the one, and the readineſs of the other, to be governed thereby, that not the Quakers, but their enemies, are unreaſonable, both in their faith and practice.

§. 3. Of forms of prayer.

Our adverſary ſpends two or three pages in proving the neceſſity of 'bodily worſhip;' and he doth it ſo lamely, that if it were ſo much my judgment to deny it, as it is to practiſe it, I know nothing he has ſaid to incline me to it. This he makes an introduction to that agreement, he ſays, there is between D. G. H. N. and the Quakers, in their mutual renouncing both bodily worſhip and viſible ordinances.' For bodily worſhip, I need ſay no more, than that our publick meetings judge him guilty of great diſhoneſty. For his viſible ordinances, we ſhall proceed to conſider them. The firſt is concerning a form of prayer; hear him.

'With the like ſilly and weak confidence they ex-'claim againſt forms of prayer, when as our bleſſed 'Saviour taught his diſciples a form.' Mat. vi. 9.

"After

" After this manner therefore pray ye," &c. 'And 'leſt,' ſays he, 'we ſhould think that this was only 'a pattern, Saint Luke, chap. xi. expreſſes it, " When ye pray, ſay, Our Father," &c. 'that is, do 'it in theſe words, Moreover, John taught his diſ-'ciples; and one of Chriſt's diſciples deſired that he 'would teach them: where we are told firſt, that 'John delivered a form of prayer to his diſciples. '2. That Chriſt's diſciples beſought him that he 'would alſo give them ſome form of his making.'

Anſ. But can this man have the vanity to plead the neceſſity of the uſe of this form, much leſs of thoſe that are of mens invention and appointment, from thoſe quotations? Has his religion brought him no farther? Can he believe that Matthew writ by the Holy Ghoſt, and yet imply an abſolute reproof in his ſo much more commending Luke's account, which, he thinks, requires the expreſs words, and not others like them? But let it be conſidered, that this was a time of infancy; and that it was before the more full pouring out of the Spirit is certain; and that they knew not goſpel-prayer, as afterwards, is undeniable. Beſides, it is either ſufficient, or it is not: if inſufficient, it reflects on Chriſt. Beſides, who can ſupply its defect? If ſufficient, why do you uſe any other? Whatever it is upon our principles, you muſt confeſs it to be " a ſetting of your poſts by " God's poſts;" your invention by his inſtitution. It is mere deceit to attempt the defence of the Popiſh Engliſh maſs book from Chriſt's prayer. Prove your forms to be of divine inſtitution, and that God by his Spirit now requires them, and the debate will end; otherwiſe, we reject the alluſion, as improper and incoherent. The Spirit is not confinable to ſet forms; though in times of ignorance he hath adminiſtered comfort in them to thoſe who were ſincere, and knew no better: but forms are not therefore to be perpetuated; for that were to obſtruct the more free operation of the Spirit, and our expreſſion by it: it is at beſt but a ſtate of weakneſs to be condeſcended to, but

but never to be pleaded for: God's Spirit will be unlimited; as well as the words, he prompts us to, muſt never by another be confined.

§. 4. Of baptiſm.

He ſays, we 'both deny baptiſm (by which I underſtand *water*); becauſe Chriſt, finding it among 'the Jews, adopted it into his religion; a ceremony 'neither burthenſome nor offenſive, and the only door 'ſet open under the goſpel for ſalvation.' For which he brings three ſcriptures, Mat. xxviii. 19. "Go, "and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name "of the Father," &c. To the ſame purpoſe by Mark, chap. xvi. ver. 15, 16. And Chriſt's ſaying, John iii. 5. "Except a man be born of water and "of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom "of God."

Anſ. If baptiſm was ever Jewiſh, as our adverſary grants, then becauſe Chriſt came to *end* all Jewiſh ceremonies, water-baptiſm can bear no evangelical perpetuity. And if it ſhould be objected, that it was uſed after the pouring forth of the Holy Ghoſt, I anſwer, ſo were circumciſion, vows, purification, forbearing to eat things ſtrangled, and blood: and the common practice of Chriſtendom, ſo called, ſufficiently tells us what is become of thoſe obſervations. Uſing and inſtituting are two things. The apoſtles condeſcended, where they never commanded.

In the two firſt ſcriptures, which contain a commiſſion, there is no water mentioned: that there is 'a 'baptiſm of the Holy Ghoſt,' I hope, all will grant: that ſuch a baptiſm admits of no outward water, is plainly implied: and that it was the baptiſm of the Holy Ghoſt (and therefore not of water) which Chriſt intended, I will briefly prove.

Firſt, This commiſſion was ſome of the laſt words Chriſt ſpoke: that it is to be fulfilled, is certain: that they could not do it without power, is clear: that neither of thoſe chapters mentions any ſuch endowment,

ment, muſt be granted. Whither then muſt we go to fetch that account here omitted? I would deſire my reader to turn to the firſt chapter of Luke's Acts of the apoſtles, where we ſhall find Chriſt's laſt words to his conſtant followers thus left upon record: "And "being aſſembled together with them, he commanded "them that they ſhould not depart from Jeruſalem, "but wait for the promiſe of the Father, which, ſaith "he, ye have heard of me. For John truly baptized "with water, but ye ſhall be baptized with the Holy "Ghoſt not many days hence. When they therefore "were come together, they aſked of him, ſaying, "Lord, wilt thou at this time reſtore again the king-"dom to Iſrael? And he ſaid unto them, it is not for "you to know the times or ſeaſons, which the Father "has put into his own power: but ye ſhall receive "power, after that the Holy Ghoſt is come upon you, "and ye ſhall be witneſſes unto me, both in Jeruſa-"lem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto "the uttermoſt part of the earth. And when he had "ſpoken theſe things, while they beheld he was taken "up, and a cloud received him out of their ſight."[m] Now if the promiſe of the Father was the pouring out of the Holy Ghoſt, and if the pouring out of the Holy Ghoſt be the baptiſm of the Holy Ghoſt, and that the baptiſm of the Holy Ghoſt was that which qualified them to be his witneſſes, as the whole place fully proves; then, "Go, and teach all nations," &c. in Matthew, and, "Go ye into all the world," in Mark, muſt not have been ſpoken before theſe words in the Acts, at leaſt not to take place till they themſelves had been baptized with the Holy Ghoſt; and conſequently the baptiſm mentioned in that commiſſion, muſt not have been a water-baptiſm, as John's was, but that of the Holy Ghoſt, which they were to be baptized with: ſo that the order of the words, at leaſt in execution, if not in expreſſion, muſt have been this, "John indeed baptized with water, but ye ſhall

[m] Acts i. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

"be

" be baptized with the Holy Ghoſt not many days " hence: then go ye and teach all nations, baptizing " them in (or rather *into*) the name of the Father, Son, " and Holy Ghoſt: and lo, I am with you always " unto the end of the world." Nor is this incredible, when we conſider, that without their ſo baptizing, it had been utterly impoſſible for them to have " turned them from darkneſs to light, and from the " power of Satan unto God." And doubtleſs they might as well baptize with the Holy Ghoſt, as " re- " concile by the Word: for where the one was, the " power of the other could not be wanting.

For the third ſcripture, though *water* be mentioned, yet *what* water? will be the queſtion. That it is not meant of *outward* water, I offer ſeveral reaſons. 1. To be born of water and of the Spirit, is no more than to be born of water, *or* of the Spirit, καὶ being here explicative: for were it otherwiſe, and that by water were underſtood *external* water, this abſurdity would inevitably follow, that the ſoul of man, which is *ſpiritual* and *internal*, could in part be regenerated by water *external* and *elementary*: but this place is excellently unfolded, by that notable paſſage of the apoſtle Paul in his epiſtle to Titus, chap. iii. 5. " Not by works " of righteouſneſs which we have done, but accord- " ing to his mercy he ſaved us, by the waſhing of " regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghoſt;" where we not only have " the waſhing of *regeneration*," to parallel " being born again of *water*," (which, ſay we, muſt be as ſpiritual as the new birth it produceth) but alſo " the renewing of the Holy Ghoſt," to anſwer " being born again of the Spirit:" that as the waſhing of regeneration, or renewing of the Holy Ghoſt, are ſynonymous, or expreſſions to the ſame purpoſe; ſo being born again of *water*, or being born again of the *Spirit*, are equivalent.

But if our adverſary will have this water to be *material*, in honour of his baptiſm, let him never refuſe the like liberty to us in conſtruction of that great Water-baptiſt's own words; " But he ſhall baptize

" you

" you with the Holy Ghoſt and with fire," that is, *material* fire. Mat. iii. 11. My judgment is, if that were the church of England's baptiſm, he had never been her ſon; though ſuch ſons are ready to chriſten many with that *fiery* baptiſm. But if ſuch an interpretation be abſurd, let him not eſteem his own rational: and if it muſt be the *Holy Ghoſt* or *fire*, then let it be *water*, or *Spirit*; for indeed they are but ſo many words intimating the various operations of one Divine Power.

In ſhort, John was but a forerunner, therefore not to be perpetuated: he was the *water*, but Chriſt the great *ſpiritual* Baptiſt: the former to decreaſe, the latter to increaſe: and the leaſt in Chriſt's kingdom, which is not of this world, is greater than John;' not than his private ſtate, but outward adminiſtration.

Paul, whoſe commiſſion was larger than any prieſt's in England, tells us, " He was not ſent to baptize (with water) but to preach:" and inſtead of enjoining the practice of it upon others, " he thanks God that he " baptized but very few himſelf:" which ſurely he had never done, if it had been part of his commiſſion, or the durable baptiſm of the goſpel: for he had juſt reaſon to ſuſpect ſome diſaffected would make that ill uſe of his liberty, ' that it was to ingratiate and ' ſet up himſelf, being conſcious that he had no au- ' thority for what he did.' This he farther gives us to believe in that pertinent paſſage to our purpoſe; " There is one body, one Spirit, one Lord, one faith, " one baptiſm, one God and Father of all." If more baptiſms than one, then more bodies, ſpirits, lords, faiths, gods, and fathers of all, " who were above " all, and through all, and in them all,[a]" unto whom Paul wrote. If this be abſurd, and that there is but one baptiſm, I hope it will not be denied to be that of the Holy Ghoſt; which is both moſt ſuitable to the evangelical miniſtration, and the peculiar baptiſm

[a] 1 Cor. i. 15, 16, 17. Epheſ. iv. 5, 6. Pag. 28. 29.

or

of Chriſt Jeſus our Lord. I ſhall touch upon one paſſage more.

" The like figure whereunto, even baptiſm, alſo " doth now ſave us;" as our modern tranſlation has it. From which, though our adverſary would infer, that 'Water-baptiſm is to be uſed, as co-aſſiſtant with 'the anſwer of a good conſcience, to ſalvation,' (page 28, 29.) I doubt not unanſwerably to maintain our foregoing aſſertion.

This verſe admits of various readings in ancient copies, and divers interpretations by learned men. We ſhall a little examine the matter, that he may ſee we ſhall not refuſe *learning*, where it may perform the office of an honeſt ſervant, not an uſurper. Ὃ (ſome have it Ὃ or Ὃ; the modern Greek ὁμοίον) καὶ ἡμᾶς (Auguſtin has it *vos*, and our old books, ſaith Zegerus) ἀντίτυπον (which Vatablus makes the truth relative to the type *flood*. And ſaith Grotius, 'Vox ἀντίτυπα eſt 'communis utrique relato, *i. e. tam figuræ tribuitur quam* 'rei per figuram ſignificatæ; (ſignifying *type* and *anti-* 'type, or the thing ſignified by the *type*).' Eraſmus hath it, 'cui nunc ſimile ſive reſpondens baptiſma. (So 'that baptiſm may anſwer as the thing typified, not 'another type.) Ἀντίτυπον, ſays Dr. Hammond (a fa- 'mous man of the Engliſh church) is certainly beſt 'rendered *antitype:* yet there be two different ſenſes, 'ſometimes contradictious; thus Zenophon and He- 'ſychius. Then deſtruction was by *outward* water, 'now ſalvation by *inward:* otherwiſe *pro* or *in lieu* of 'another, as ἀνθύπατος, he that ſupplies the conſul's 'place. So Ὃ ἀντίτυπον βάπτισμα (as in an old copy in 'Oxford) is the *ark inward*, ſupplying the place of 'the *ark outward*. Νὺν σώζει βάπτισμα, which Cappellus 'underſtands to be *Baptiſmum internum, quo ſimus mor-* 'tis & reſurrectionis Chriſti participes. *Hujus interni bap-* 'tiſmi typos aliquot habemus in V. T. *imprimis autem* 'arcam diluvii, *et arcam Noæ.*' By inward baptiſm we are made partakers of Chriſt's death and reſurrection. Of this inward baptiſm we have ſeveral types in the Old Teſtament, of which *Noah's ark* was one. Gro-

tius

tius refers us to theſe ſcriptures for an apoſtolical expoſition, Rom. vi. 3, 4. Epheſ. iv. 5. Gal. iii. 27. Col. ii. 12. all which refer to man's being "baptized "into Chriſt's death, his putting on of Chriſt, and to "the one Lord, one faith, one baptiſm." And indeed Beza ſhewed them the way, who will have it, that the baptiſm which anſwered to Noah's ark, was not *material water*, but the *power of Chriſt within*, which preſerves us cleanſed, and enables us to call on God with a good conſcience. Nor is Dr. Hammond of a different judgment in this caſe, who not only will have ἀντίτυπον rendered *antitype*, but the baptiſm that is that antitype, anſwering to *Noah's ark*, to be 'the *inward* waſhing of mens conſciences from pol-'lution, and delivering them from the deluge of ſin 'and deſtruction.'

Not only from all this do I conclude the baptiſm mentioned in that place to be the antitype, or truth, anſwering to the outward and typical ſalvation of Noah's ark, but for thoſe reaſons which were with me before my peruſal of theſe authors, and which I ſhall now briefly offer. Firſt, If ἀντίτυπον βάπτισμα were but a type or figure, one type would anſwer another, which is not proper. 2dly, It were both to ſuppoſe, that the goſpel were a ſtate of figures, (which is the ſubſtance of all) and of ſuch figures too, as are leſs demonſtrative or ſignificant; for, what is that ſprinkling, baby-baptiſm (for dipper, or dipped, I ſuppoſe our adverſary to be neither) to the words *deluge* and *Noah's ark*. 3dly, The baptiſm in the text, muſt be ſuch an one as hath efficacy enough in it *to ſave*, which *outward* water cannot do: beſides the word σώζει, or *ſaveth*, hath relation to Noah's ark, wherein the eight ſoûls were ſaved; therefore the antitype, or truth anſwering to that, as type. 4thly, It is ſuch a baptiſm as ſaves by the power of Chriſt's reſurrection, anſwerable to Rom. vi. 3, 4. "Know ye not that ſo many of us as were "baptized into Jeſus Chriſt, were baptized into his "death? That like as Chriſt was raiſed up from the "dead, by the glory of the Father; even ſo wé alſo "ſhould

" ſhould walk in newneſs of life." 5thly, And this the parentheſis in the verſe undeniably proves, being an illuſtration of the baptiſm intended, " not the put-" ting away of the filth of the fleſh, but the anſwer " of a good conſcience towards God," or, as ſome have it, *interrogatio*, ἐπερώτημα, inquiſition, or enquiry, alluding to the oracle URIM and THUMMIM, by which men have boldneſs and acceſs to God; ſo as to render the verſe, " *Cui etiam ex adverſo oppoſitus, nos ſervat* " *baptiſmus, non is quo carnis ſordes abjiciuntur, ſed is* " *quo ſit ut bona conſcientia Deum interroget per reſurrec-* " *tionem Chriſti,*" i. e. ' To which the directly *oppoſite* ' baptiſm alſo now ſaveth us, not that by which the ' filth of the fleſh is caſt off, but that by which it is ' effected, that a good conſcience may aſk God by the ' reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt.' From all which two things reſult; firſt, that the verſe ought to be thus rendered, " Anſwerable to which figure, baptiſm now " alſo ſaveth us, not the putting away of the filth of " the fleſh, but the account of a good conſcience to " God, by the reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt." And indeed the moſt diſputable part of this verſe is abundantly confirmed on our ſide, by the ſimplicity of the ancient Engliſh, French, and Spaniſh tranſlators. And I wonder that any man of common ſenſe, not greatly abuſed by prejudice or cuſtom, can think, that the baptiſm mentioned ſhould be that of *water*, when the middle of the verſe provides this material diſtinction, " Not the putting away of the filth of the fleſh (the " effect of outward water) but the anſwer of a good " conſcience to God," (the fruits of the Holy Ghoſt " alone) to that very end that people ſhould not think " ſo; I mean, that it was a *water-baptiſm*.

Secondly, it may not be improper for us to obſerve, that if one verſe hath ſuch variety of copies, readings, tranſpoſitions, and ſenſes; as hath been noted, beſide what we could yet produce; they are at a miſerable paſs for an univerſal, conſtant, and unerring rule, who

• Jacob Capell. Salm. Sac. Ling. Profeſſ. in loc.

eſteem

eſteem the preſent ſcripture ſuch, excluſive of the Spirit, which time, variety of tranſcribers, tranſlators, interpreters, and expoſitors, have rendered ſo uncertain. But if we had been unprovided of all this to our defence, what has our adverſary to do to charge us with a diſcontinuance of water-baptiſm, till he had firſt cleared his own opinion from popiſh innovation and invention? What ſcripture, or pure antiquity, has he for *infant-baptiſm*, one of the unſcriptural and ſenſeleſs ceremonies of his religion, about which ſuch as he make more ſtir than about that of the Holy Ghoſt? A man may gueſs what a Chriſtian he is, and how well he is verſed in Chriſt's doctrine, who can call a little water, ſhed by a prieſt's hand, "the door into "God's kingdom." How much is this ſhort of the Romiſh prieſt's making his GOD, who ſays, 'The 'bread is Chriſt after conſecration,' ſince Chriſt, who is God over all, bleſſed for ever, ſaith, "HE is that "door," which H. Hallywell will have his infant water-baptiſm to be.

§. 5. *Of the* SUPPER.

But he ſaith of us and the Familiſts, 'By the ſame 'diabolical ſpirit, wherewith they are poſſeſſed, they 'lay aſide the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, as a 'thing too carnal (page 30, 31).' In oppoſition to which he produceth Matt. xxvi. 26, 27. how that Chriſt "took bread, and bleſſed it, and brake it, and "gave it to his diſciples, and ſaid, Take, eat, this is "my body: then he took the cup, and gave thanks, "and gave it to them, ſaying, Drink ye all of it." 'St. Mark, chap. xiv. repeats the very ſame, and 'ſays, they all drank of it: but St. Luke, chap. xxii. '19. and St. Paul, 1 Cor. xi. 24. added theſe words, "Do this in remembrance of me," 'which import 'both a commiſſion and direction to uſe and continue 'them.'

Anſ. It is granted, that Chriſt, eating the paſſover with his diſciples, did familiarly repreſent that fleſh

and blood which he gave for the world, that whoſoever eat thereof ſhould have life eternal abiding in them. Nor is this ſtrange; for it was his familiar way of opening his deepeſt myſteries, and recommending the moſt excellent of all his commandments; witneſs his diſcourſe concerning the bleſſed unity of Chriſt and his members, by the ſimilitude of a vine and its branches; and both his waſhing his diſciples feet, and requiring them to follow his example. John xiii. 5. 14.

That this practice was enjoined his diſciples, is not warranted from Matthew, Mark, or "in remembrance "of me," as our adverſary obſerves: but that they ſhould be Paul's alſo, as he affirms, is both an abuſe of the ſcriptures, and them that read them: for theſe are the apoſtle's words, "As *often* as ye eat this bread, "and drink this cup," &c. which amounts to no more than this, 'When ye do eat this ſupper, do it '*worthily*;' ſo that there is no command to do it, though as often as they *did* do it, they were exhorted to do it diſcerningly: "*as* often as you do it," and '*do it often*,' are differing ſayings.

And that Luke's words do not perpetuate it, eſpecially as now uſed, I ſhall prove. Firſt, if it be but a *ſacrament* or *ſign*, as ſaith our adverſary, then can it not of right continue longer than till the *thing ſignified* ſhall come. "Do this *till*," that is, 'When THAT is 'come, *till* the coming of which the ſign was to be 'uſed, there remains no longer any inſtitution.'

Now between all types and antitypes, ſhadows and ſubſtances, parables and morals, there muſt needs be ſome reſemblance, or elſe the end of their being uſed will be loſt to them, for whoſe ſakes they were appointed: for inſtance, Chriſt is called a *door*, becauſe no man comes to the Father, but *through* him: a *lion*, from his ſtrength and dominion: a *lamb*, becauſe of his innocency: a *vine*, becauſe of that excellent fruit he brings forth: and laſtly, he calls himſelf by the name of *bread*, becauſe of that inward ſtrength and nouriſhment ſuch receive that feed ſpiritually upon him:

him: wherefore the ſubſtance ſhadowed out by this outward bread and wine, is no other than CHRIST, as the bread that came down from above, and that fleſh and blood which all were to eat and drink of that would have eternal life, mentioned at large John vi. So that admitting of a command, it muſt be thus read, 'Do this till I come, who am the heavenly 'bread, and fleſh and blood, that give eternal life to 'them that feed thereon;' which bread the apoſtle very well underſtood, when in the foregoing chapter to the Corinthians he thus delivered himſelf, "I ſpeak "to wiſe men, judge ye what I ſay: the cup of bleſ- "ſing, which we bleſs, is it not the communion of "the blood of Chriſt? For we being many are one "*bread*, and one body; for we are all *partakers* of "that *one bread*," 1 Cor. x. 15, 16, 17. And this Chriſt himſelf intimated in the following verſe to that paſſage out of Matthew, "But I ſay unto you, I will "not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, un- "til that day when I drink it new with you in my "Father's kingdom." And I query if that was not made good, on the day of Pentecoſt, when ſcoffingly, yet truly (like Caiaphas in another caſe) ſeveral ſpectators ſaid of the diſciples, "They were full of new "wine?" Acts ii. 13. Which was the beginning of the reſtoration of that kingdom of God to Iſrael, that the diſciples a little before ſo weakly queried after.

In ſhort, The Father's kingdom is *within*, Luke xvii. 20. What was that fruit then that was to be drank anew in that kingdom? Certainly it came from himſelf, the true vine, and muſt be of a ſpiritual and inward nature, like to the kingdom.

To conclude, If bread and wine be but a ſign; and if things ſignified ought to reſemble their ſigns; and if ſpiritual bread and wine moſtly anſwer thoſe viſible ſigns; and if they are to be had in the kingdom of God; and if the kingdom of God be within; and that they who eat not that bread, and drink not that wine, have no life in them; then, becauſe the apoſtles had life eternal in them, and we a meaſure of the ſame

in us, Chriſt, the heavenly bread and fleſh, and wine and blood, was then, and is now, come; and conſequently, the ſhadows of thoſe good things (as to any inſtitution) were and are at an end: and as there is but one Spirit, and one Lord, one faith, one baptiſm, one God and Father, one heavenly kingdom, one holy body; ſo but one bread, and but one cup, and but one communion and fellowſhip, and that is with the Father and the Son, by the Holy Ghoſt.

But here, as in the caſe of water-baptiſm, it will be objected, 'Why were they then afterwards uſed?'

Anſ. The practices of good men, though in things temporary, are many times too greedily received, and too long doted upon, by thoſe who deſire to be reputed their followers. Any thing once becoming cuſtomary is hard to be left: ſeveral Jewiſh ceremonies the Holy Ghoſt thought fit to be diſpenſed with for a ſeaſon, that were never to be perpetuated. But what has our adverſary, and the ſeveral ſorts of Proteſtants in the world, to do with baptiſm and the ſupper, and deny that qualification and commiſſion the apoſtles had? They will never ſtand our enquiry about their call; which, they know, we have great cauſe to ſcruple, indeed to deny; for all muſt, or ſhould know, that was either *immediate*, or *mediate* and *ſucceſſive*. If immediate, then they muſt neceſſarily confeſs to a commiſſion upon inſpiration, and then *Quakers*. If mediate and ſucceſſive, then either *beſide* the church of Rome, or *through* the church of Rome: not *beſide* the church of Rome, becauſe ſhe cannot prove any regular ordination, or uninterrupted ſucceſſion, either as to faith or diſcipline. If *through* the church of Rome, then they own the ordination of a church they renounce, and grant *her* the keys, whom they have writ againſt for theſe ſix-ſcore years, under the name of Whore of Babylon, and Mother of Harlots, and all abominations of the earth. Can that which you account a corrupt fountain, bring forth clean ſtreams? Will men ſeek ordination at the hands of that church they reſolve to employ it againſt? Has ſhe forfeited her

her *religion*, and not her *power*? When did ever God make over his authority by ſuch an entail? If mens errors and vices do not unminiſter them, it will follow, that they may be ill *Chriſtians*, but very good *miniſters*. For ſhame! never renounce the Roman church as falſe, if her ordination muſt be true: for what has power to make a miniſter, muſt be allowed to have power both to inſtruct and conclude him in what he is to miniſter: wherefore never let any own her to have heaven's keys of church-authority, and then deny her as heretical: for wherever any church or people are truly ſuch, that church or people have thereby forfeited all right thereunto: and as the contrary opinion has long enriched the pope's coffers, ſo the unwary conceſſions of ſome certain Proteſtants thereto, have too evidently given away a great ſhare of that good old cauſe.

I have dwelt longer upon theſe particulars than my adverſary's weakneſs could deſerve at my hands; but their information has induced me to it, who are aſſaulted by the envious endeavours of our ſeveral adverſaries, that daily ſeek how to miſrepreſent us, and our moſt evangelical principles.

CHAP. IV.

His third chapter examined, which conſiſts of the holineſs of times, places, things, and perſons under the goſpel.

§. 1. Of the SABBATH-DAY.

HIS accuſation is, 'That the Familiſts and Quakers 'put no difference between one day and ano-'ther, the Sabbath no more than another day; that 'many times they follow their uſual trades on a Sun-'day.' Pag. 34, 37, 38, 39.

Anſ. What the Familiſts did is nothing to us (if they did ſo). But ſure I am he has abuſed the Qua-

kers; for it is well known, that in what country ſoever they live, they follow the practice of the apoſtles, in aſſembling together on the firſt day of the week: they do it conſtantly and reverently. Who moſt profane that day, the Quakers, or the ſons and daughters of the church of England? Their feaſts, drunkenneſs, wantonneſs, gaming, and other recreations, as they call them, are ſo many demonſtrations, to help every common underſtanding to a reſolution in the point. And to ſay, 'That we many times follow our uſual 'trades on that day,' is a plain untruth, the whole world knows better, though we do not judaize; for worſhip was not made for time, but time for worſhip: nor is there any day holy of itſelf, though holy things may be performed upon a day.

But he tells us, 'Yes; for the fourth commandment 'being as moral as the reſt, and that requiring a ſab-'bath-day, the ſabbath-day is perpetuated alſo.'

Anſ. But this hurts us not, ſince the Jewiſh-ſabbath is not obſerved by the church of England.—But if a ſabbath-day be moral, becauſe mentioned in the fourth commandment; then, becauſe the Jews ſeventh-day ſabbath is there particularly mentioned, *their* ſabbath muſt be only moral, and conſequently unalterable.

But ſays he, 'No; for that the apoſtles, and ſuc-'ceeding church of God, may very reaſonably diſpoſe 'of us in matters of this nature; and it is obligatory 'from the ten commandments, every one of which is 'moral, and binds all Chriſtians ſtill; and therefore 'the church of England (though theſe rebellious 'Quakers diſown their mother) doth make it part of 'her liturgy.'

Anſ. If it be as moral as all the reſt, (as it muſt be if it be moral, becauſe of its being there) they could no more diſpenſe with it, than with any other commandment: to call that day moral, and make it alterable, is ridiculous. It is true the apoſtles met upon the firſt day, and not on the ſeventh; but as that releaſed us from any pretended morality of the ſeventh, ſo neither did it confer any morality upon the firſt: yea,

yea, ſo far were they from it, that not one ſpeaks any ſuch thing; but Paul much the contrary: "Let no "man judge you in meats or in drinks, or in reſpect "of an holy-day, or of new moons, or of the *Sab-* "*bath-days*, which are a ſhadow of things to come, "but the body is of Chriſt." Col. ii. 17, 18. The outward ſabbath was typical of the great reſt of the goſpel; which ſuch come to, who ceaſe from their own work, and in whom the works of God's new creation come to be accompliſhed.

And though I ſhould acknowledge the other commands to be moral, yea, and times too, both reſpecting God's worſhip, and the creature's reſt; yet there is no more reaſon for the morality of that day, becauſe amongſt thoſe commandments, than for the ceremoniouſneſs and abrogation of ſeveral moral precepts, becauſe ſcattered up and down among the ceremonial laws recorded in Leviticus.

I grant the apoſtles met on that day; but muſt it therefore be moral? Certainly, the ſcriptures ſilence in this particular muſt either conclude a great neglect againſt thoſe holy men, in not recommending and enjoining more expreſsly both water, bread, wine, and holy days, in their ſeveral epiſtles to the churches; or warrant us in our belief concerning the temporarineſs of thoſe things. Let not our adverſary reproach us for not believing that to be durable, which was wearing off and vaniſhing in thoſe days; but ſoberly conſider, that the practice of the beſt men, eſpecially in ſuch caſes, is no inſtitution, though ſometimes it may be an example. But I perceive he makes bold, like an irreverent ſon, with his ghoſtly fathers, who, through his reflections upon us, ſeverely rebukes them. Has he ſo quickly forgot the 'Book of Sports,' and who put it out? when not to profane this ſabbath with dancings, riots, and revels, had been enough to render a man an enemy to Cæſar, and a ſchiſmatical Puritan to the church? If he be not ſatisfied with this, I refer him to Calvin's Inſtitutes, Bp. Ironſide, and Dr. Peter Heylin, concerning the *non-morality* of the

ſabbath; and a great wonder it is, that John Calvin and Peter Heylin ſhould be of one opinion in any thing.

§. 2. Place of God's worſhip.

He is very angry with us for denying a more than ordinary ſanctity to places, and ſays, 'That we eſteem 'a church no more than a ſtable; that the Jews, Heathens, and Turks have their ſynagogues, temples, 'and moſques to pray in: that Chriſt went to a prayer-'houſe, Luke vi. 12. and Acts xvi. 13. Where Paul 'and others went out to a river's ſide, where an ora-'tory was reported to be.[p]'

Anſ. We value the *true* church more than a ſtable; but we value a good ſtable before a falſe church, as ſuch. But I ſuppoſe he means by church, an *houſe*; and then I muſt tell him, that I eſteem a ſtable better than no houſe, but a good houſe better than a ſtable. But why is a ſtable ſuch an ill-favoured place? Has he forgot "that the Head of the *true* church firſt lodged "in one," when there was no room for him in a whole ſynagogue, yet room enough for a company of cavilling murdering Scribes and Phariſees? There is no doubt but the Jews had ſynagogues enough, "for "it was out of them the apoſtles were to be haled," becauſe of their teſtimony againſt thoſe that were in them. It is true, the Heathens had temples, and the Turks have their moſques. I like the compariſon and the proof very well; for I take ſome of your ſteeple-houſe gueſts to be as good Chriſtians, as ſome of the worſt ſort of them. It was the old heatheniſh ſpirit, which, under the cloak of Chriſtianity, both erected thoſe ſtately edifices, inſtituted that pompous worſhip, and exacted thoſe vaſt revenues, that have burthened the world theſe many ages; whilſt the pure apoſtolical ſpirit and religion have been as driven into a ſackcloth and wilderneſs eſtate.

[p] Pag. 34, 42, 43, 44, 45.

That

That Chriſt went to a *prayer-houſe*, and that Paul and the church met in an *oratory* by the river ſide, is a pretty rattle for children, and may paſs as unqueſtionably with thoſe who are willing to be cheated, as the ſtory of St. Dennis's body, that went a mile without his head, and St. Winifred's head a great way without her body, to a Papiſt.

But he affirms, 'That the firſt Chriſtians had diſtinct places to meet in, and that they called them 'churches.' Pag. 47, 48, 49.

Anſ. Chriſt went not to the ſynagogue, or the temple, to eat the paſſover: it is certain that the twelve met in an *upper room*, upon their return from Chriſt's aſcenſion: and it is ſaid, "When the day of Pentecoſt "was fully come, they were all with one accord in "one place," (Acts ii. 1, 2, 3, 4.) at what time that excellent glory appeared; but here is no mention made of either *temple* or *ſynagogue*: one would have thought thoſe *conventicles* (for ſo they were then called, and ſince) ſhould not have borne away the glory and honour of that holy ſolemnity from thoſe cathedral and canonical places: what ſullen ſeparation did the falſe Jew then, as well as the falſe Chriſtian now, repute the like practice! Certainly this ran retrograde to the grain and humour of that age; and the poor apoſtles were therefore eſteemed as great *Fanaticks*, and as much reproached as any of the *Quakers* in this. I muſt alſo confeſs, they continued daily with one accord in the temple, Acts ii. 46, but they broke not bread there; that was done κατ' οἶκον, that is, "*in the* "*houſe*," if he will have it ſo, inſtead of "*from houſe* "*to houſe*," to be ſure, it was not "from *church to* "*church*," as he would have the houſe called; for then we ſhould underſtand the following verſe thus, "and "the Lord added to the church daily ſuch as ſhould "be ſaved," that is, '*to the houſe*.'

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or *domeſticatim*, i. e, " from houſe to houſe,' as κατ' ἡμέραν *per ſingulos dies, ſive quotidie*, i. e. ' daily, ' or from day to day.'

But he will needs have it that the apoſtle, 1 Cor. xi. meant by *church* the *houſe*, when he ſaid, " Have ye " not houſes to eat and drink in, or deſpiſe ye the " church of God?[q]" His reaſon is, if it may be thought one, ' becauſe the apoſtle, in the 18th verſe, ' ſays, " When ye come in the church;" and in the ' 20th verſe, " when ye come together into one place;" ' ſo that the word church ſignifies the place.'

Anſ. " When ye come together in the church," ſignifies no more than in the " congregation or aſſem- " bly," or " among yourſelves as a church;" (obſerve well the margin); and to make the *church* allude to *place* in the 20th verſe, is a baſe wreſting of our adverſary's; for there is no Greek word there for *place*.

But he thinks he has one argument more, ' from ' Paul's greeting Priſcilla and Aquila, and the church ' that is in their houſe,' Rom. xvi. 3, 5. And again, ' ſending ſalutation from them;' " Aquila and Priſ- " cilla ſalute you much in the Lord, with the church " in their houſe." 1 Cor. xvi. 29.

Anſ. If this be to prove an houſe to be a church, I never ſaw the like. It ſeems we muſt read, after his dialect, thus, " Greet Priſcilla and Aquila, and the " houſe that is in their houſe." But in contradiction to all this, he tells us in the next page, ' By the ' church, at ſuch a man's houſe, muſt be meant the ' whole congregation of the ſaints aſſembled at ſuch

[q] Vatabl. Eccleſiam vel congregationem.

Clarius. Ille conventus in eccleſiam non eâ causâ ſit: hoc quod facitis in contemptum eccleſiæ Dei redundat, & eorum pudorem qui minus habent.

Zeger. Confunditis eos qui non habent quod offerant & manducent.

Cameron. Dei eccleſia hic privatis ædibus non opponitur. Dei eccleſiam contemnere eſt pudore afficere tenuiores, qui magnam Eccleſiæ partem conſtituebant.

Locus loco opponitur grammaticè, non logicè, i. e. church or congregation. The church is not oppoſed to private houſes. To deſpiſe the church, is to make aſhamed the poor of it.

' a man's

'a man's houſe;' and truly, reader, I think ſo too. But if the ſaints *met* to *make* the church, then the *houſe* is not the *church*, nor indeed can an houſe *meet* together in an houſe.

But now I will tell this defamer of us, That though we have no ſtately *baſilicos*, or *palace-churches*, as ſome call them, beautified with painting, images, flags, carved and engraved work, and built to the eaſt, in imitation of the heathen idolatrous temples; yet, like unto the apoſtles and primitive Chriſtians, "we aſſem-"ble from houſe to houſe," and, if he will have it ſo, there are ſeveral convenient publick places on purpoſe to meet and perform divine worſhip in.

§. 3. Of tithes.

His next ſection, and, as became a careful greedy hireling, by much the largeſt of any in his book, is employed in the defence of the prieſts maintenance, the *ſine quâ non* of their calling. From page 51 to 69, his firſt argument is, 'That God will have a rent and 'tribute paid him. That thus he dealt with the chil-'dren of Iſrael, from whom he reſerved a tithe to 'himſelf; and that in Abraham's time tithes to Mel-'chizedeck were paid, after whoſe order Chriſt was 'made a prieſt.'

Anſ. The tithes that were paid Melchizedeck, were but of the ſpoils Abraham took from his enemies; and that not by compulſion, but choice. Melchizedeck was king of Salem: king of peace, prieſt of the Moſt High God: he *freely* adminiſtred bread and wine to Abraham to refreſh him; and when he had done, prayed, and praiſed God for him, without bargain or hire: whereupon Abraham gave him the tithe of all, as a token of his thankfulneſs.

Now let the prieſts of England prove themſelves to be of Melchizedeck's offspring, men of peace, prieſts of the Moſt High God, and let them but miniſter to us of the living bread and wine, and wrap up all with ſuch prayers and praiſes to God for us as he will ac-

cept;

cept; and when all this is done, if we refuſe them the tithe of our ſpoils, let us be recorded for ungrateful men: but whilſt prieſts and men of contention, hirelings, that ſeek gain from their quarter, prepare war againſt them that put not into their mouths, are not prieſts of the Moſt High God's anointing, and who, inſtead of giving us bread and wine, oppreſs us unto death for a four-penny Eaſter-reckoning, and in lieu of prayers and praiſes to God for us, anathematize, whip, impriſon, and baniſh us for impoſtors, hereticks, men inſpired by Satan, and ſuch like, let it not be wondered at that a poor Quaker has a teſtimony againſt ſuch a prieſt; and that he rather chuſeth to die (unjuſtly his priſoner) than pay tithes to him, that is an uſurper of the name, authority, and office of a true evangelical miniſter.

And for his inſtance of the land of Canaan, it brings no obligation upon us. England is no Canaan, neither as to its acquiſition, nor diſtribution: when the Saxons came into England, God reſerved no ſuch rents. And if it be well argued of the apoſtle, (Heb. vii. 12.) "that becauſe the law is changed, the prieſt-"hood is alſo;" then certainly it is no ill conſequence, that the "way of maintenance" muſt be changed too, at leaſt as to inſtitution.

'But,' ſays our adverſary, in the apoſtle's words, 1 Cor. ix. 14. "The Lord hath ordained, that they "which preach the goſpel ſhould live of the goſpel."

Anſ. We are contented with this, but the prieſts are not. They cannot prove themſelves miniſters of the goſpel, unleſs by that never-failing argument of human law and force, if yet that can prove them ſuch. Beſides, here is no ſtint or method *what* or *how?* it is left to God's witneſs; but that they dare not leave themſelves with: earthly powers muſt firſt make them miniſters, and then get them maintenance. But there is not a word of Paul's "working with his own hands," nor Chriſt's explanation of "the labourer is worthy "of his hire;" to wit, "that he ſhould eat what is "ſet before him, and, Melchizedeck like, bleſs the "houſe,

" houſe, if worthy:" nor do I hear of ſo much as one *itinerary-preacher*; who, to be ſure carried no tithes upon his back, as the prieſts of our days do into their barn: they ſued, excommunicated, impriſoned none unto death for hire's ſake.

He that minds God more than his belly, ſhall never want for his belly; for the authority of him in whoſe name he goes, makes ſufficient way for his ſubſiſtence, without the force of imperial decrees; " The cattle " upon a thouſand hills are the Lord's." The primitive Chriſtians paid no *tithes* that we read of; yet they forbore not to adminiſter freely to the neceſſities of thoſe who were faithful labourers and travellers amongſt them. The law that ſettled that maintenance, was " the law in the heart, and the witneſs of God in the " conſcience," to which Paul particularly deſired to be made manifeſt. It is true, about four hundred years after Chriſt, the then Chriſtians began to lay up the *tithe* of their ſubſtance, towards the maintenance of ſuch members and miniſters of the church as wanted. But this was out of their own *free* will, not as *ſettled maintenance*, nor by *compulſion*, as our countryman, Jo. Selden, a learned antiquary, tells us.[r]

But our adverſary ſays, ' That Chriſtian emperors, ' kings, princes, and other nobles, by the all-wiſe ' Providence inſpiring their hearts, have given houſes, ' lands, and tithes, for the maintenance of the miniſ- ' ters of the goſpel, and ſecured ſuch poſſeſſions. And ' therefore, ſuch are ſacrilegious, and robbers of God, ' who with-hold them: ſuch tenths being as much the ' miniſters, as the ninths are the peoples.

Anſ. I perceive the prieſt allows *inſpiration* for *tithes*, though we are Familiſts, Quakers, and Fanaticks, for abetting the doctrine of inſpiration in the worſhip of God. O mercenary, O hireling and irreverent ſaying! that God ſhould be more concerned for carnal than ſpiritual things, and inſpire men about tithes, and not about divine worſhip. Who but a dark and mer-

[r] Gratian. Cauſ. p. 16. R. C. Dec. Selden, c. 6. p. 80, 81.

cenary

cenary prieſt could have uttered ſo impious an expreſſion?

I grant, that when Auſtin came into England, he deſired tithes of Ethelbert, as I take it, king of Kent: but the king's care of his people, and the averſion of their humour to all encroachments, diſappointed the monk. However, 'Time bringing forth murder and 'adultery, they brought forth tithes.'' For Offa killing Ethelbert, gave a tenth of his goods to pacify his ghoſt: And Edgar, being greatly in love with Ethelwald's wife, to obtain his end, murdered him; upon which the Pope ſending forth his bull, Edgar, to appeaſe him, confirmed to the church the tenth of all the fruit of his field and cattle, to them and their ſucceſſors. And as murder and whoredom introduced them, ſo the cunning and covetouſneſs of the clergy have continued them: for when the heptarchy became a monarchy, the prieſts evermore would thruſt in for a ſhare with the conqueror; and this wrong way came tithes to be the prieſts right, as he calls it.

But let this pretended Proteſtant anſwer me, if he dare:

Was the church then degenerated or no? Was it not a time of popery? Did not the firſt martyrs except againſt her? Was it lawful for princes to give away other men's goods, upon the account, and for the pretended expiation, of their ſins?

Could the giving of them atone? Is it not acknowledging of the Pope's power to abſolve? Is it not a buying or bribing off the guilt of ſin againſt Almighty God, by gifts to a mortal man, and thoſe extorted from poor people too? Is this Proteſtant doctrine? But, above all, is this inſtituting tithes upon inſpiration? Hell her own ſelf was the foundreſs of theſe things[t]. He may remember that there is better antiquity for that voice, which the ancients report to have been heard that day Conſtantine conferred thoſe large

[s] Selden, p. 67. [t] Bp. Jewel on Hagg. Hodie venenum infuſum in Eccl.

endowments

endowments upon the church, than for the inſtitution of tithes and rich benefices; I mean that voice through the heavens, This day is poiſon poured into the church. Since which time it has been obſerved by the beſt princes, wiſeſt counſellors, and moſt moderate clergymen[n], 'That the enrichment and impower-'ing of church-officers, has been the canker of the 'church, and the moth of the ſtate.'

It is not my buſineſs to write an hiſtory: but I recommend to the inquiſitive reader, Wickliff's Remonſtrance; the Plowman's Complaint; Chaucer's Plowman's Tale; Walter Brute, and W. Thorpe's Examination, in the Martyrology; Pareus; Hiſtory of the Waldenſes; and Jo. Selden, men that ought not to paſs for, or be reputed, Fanaticks, eſpecially by ſuch who call themſelves Proteſtants.

I ſhall only ſay, firſt, That they were the people's wholly. 2dly, It is now the people's labour, more than the prieſt's land, that brings the increaſe: and men ought not to be conſtrained to pay thoſe they never hired; nor to labour for thoſe that profit them not. 3dly, They were given to expiate murder and adultery, and uphold an idolatrous clergy, upon Proteſtant principles; and therefore to be removed, as were the high places and groves, idolatrouſly dedicated among the Jews. 4thly, Becauſe it is moſt reaſonable for a man to believe according to his own conſcience, and not according to another man's conſcience. "It is unrighteous to perſecute a man for not "maintaining that religion, which in his conſcience "he believes to be falſe; as well as that it is the "badge of a falſe religion to perſecute for mainte-"nance." 5thly, Though they may have been confirmed by ſome princes, yet, conſidering the end to which they were given, to wit, for the maintenance of a certain ſort of religious order, now exploded, whoſe ſucceſſors theſe are not, (and ſo the ancient conſtitution broken) we cannot ſee any reaſon why they ſhould

[n] Cobham, Bernard, Tindal, Frith, Charl. V. Emp.

remain;

remain; unleſs any thing commanded is to be obeyed, becauſe commanded, and not becauſe in itſelf lawful.

Two things I cannot but obſerve. Firſt, That he affirms, 'The clergy of England have not a tenth; 'much complaining that every one ſnips from them;' *cujus contrarium verum*; for they not only ſnip, but ſlice, from every body elſe. I commend to his peruſal a pamphlet, intituled, "*Omnia comeſta à Belo*," where he will find a very particular account of the revenues of archbiſhops, biſhops, archdeacons, deans, canons, prebends, parſons, vicars, petty-canons, ſinging-men, choiriſters, organiſts, goſpellers, epiſtlers, vergers, chancellors, and their attendants, delegates, regiſters, and their clerks. Gentlemen apparitors, inferior apparitors, proctors, &c. I doubt not but *fifteen hundred thouſand* pounds a year will be the moſt modeſt accompt that computation will admit of; which is but double the revenue that former monarchs have had for the maintenance of their family, crown and dignity, their civil-juſtice, armies, navies, and coſtly embaſſies. If all this be to reſemble Chriſt Jeſus and his apoſtles, the ſcripture has given us a very wrong account of him and them.

The ſecond thing I would obſerve is this, That he has the ignorance and confidence to argue from the ſuper-excellency of Chriſt's miniſtration to that of Moſes; 'that the maintenance of the miniſters of the 'goſpel ſhould proportionably exceed the maintenance 'of the prieſts under the law.'

Anſ. But certainly he is one of the firſt men that made this wild interpretation of the glory of the latter houſe excelling the glory of the former; as if Chriſt's houſe were outward, or his glory either! Would we have one outward temple figure out another? as if Chriſt ſhould bring in another Levitical law to excel that of Moſes! Certainly the New Jeruſalem, after this man's rate of diſputing, muſt be an outward ſtructure of material ſapphires, emeralds, jaſpers, &c. But there is a Pope and a Mahomet in his belly, whether

ther he knows it or no: for theſe fleſhly conceits firſt ſet them to work upon their pompous worſhip, neglecting the holy, pure, ſelf-denying and ſpiritual religion of Chriſt Jeſus and his apoſtles, who neither practiſed nor ſet up any ſhadowy and ceremonial worſhip, nor ſettled themſelves in ſplendid livings, to lead eaſy, quiet, and voluptuous lives. "Freely they re-"ceived, freely they gave;" not as our adverſary ridiculouſly underſtands it, 'that they gave their mi-'racles, but ſold their preaching:' the ſpirit of a pompous antichriſt indeed, who pleads for *ſtate* under a ſelf-denying goſpel! Chriſt's kingdom is not of this world; and yet our adverſary pleads for the grandeur of a worldly worſhip, miniſtry, and maintenance: we may allow him therefore and his tribe to be worldly Chriſtians, but not true followers of that Jeſus, who ſaid, when he was in the world, "I am not of the "world;" which leads me to the next ſection concerning the miniſtry.

§. 4. Of Miniſters of the Goſpel.

In defence of the church of England's miniſtry, he tells us, (p. 70, 71, 73, 74.) 'That they have, firſt, 'the teſtimony of their own conſcience, that they are 'furniſhed to that office. 2dly, The outward call of 'the church, by impoſition of hands and prayers.'

Anſ. If the miniſters of the church of England have the teſtimony of their conſcience, it muſt be either a true or a falſe teſtimony. If a *falſe*, then not *truly* called, upon our adverſary's principles: If *true*, then infallibly ſo; and conſequently, both every man hath an infallible witneſs in his own conſcience; and the preparation and call of this witneſs is the inward call to the miniſtry. Now how this can be without revelation and inſpiration I know not. But it ſeems, miniſterial qualification muſt be judged of by the witneſs in the conſcience, which is the overthrow of the prieſt's cauſe and doctrine: but I deny that the prieſts act upon this inward teſtimony; for they are afraid of

being made manifeſt to the conſcience: and when we urge this inward manifeſtation, they cry out, with our adverſary, enthuſiaſm, familiſm, quakeriſm! but if this muſt be the alone judge of qualification, let him for ſhame give over vilifying our public labourers, and incenſing our ſuperiors againſt us, (who honeſtly plead conſcience in the caſe,) and us for refuſing the national prieſthood, which we believe, in the preſence of God, angels and men, to be not ſo qualified. For covetouſneſs, bargaining, ſtealing their neighbours words, preaching *their* experiences, not their *own*, not knowing experimentally whereof they affirm, nor turning people to righteouſneſs, but perſecuting them that love it, and daubing ſinners with untempered mortar, are altogether inconſiſtent with it.

For the 'laying on of hands,' it is well known to be a Jewiſh ceremony: and we read that Saul and Barnabas preached, before the apoſtles laid hands upon them. Beſides, it is not every body's hands will ſerve; they muſt be men inſpired, upon our enemies conceſſions, and not every foul fiſt. Nor did it give authority; but, as many other Jewiſh ceremonies, it was made uſe of to *expreſs* that miſſion which had a more inward and ſpiritual ground. They were named apoſtles from one of the meaneſt offices that belonged to the temple; not lord primates, lord archbiſhops, lord biſhops, may it pleaſe your grace, may it pleaſe your lordſhip, right reverend fathers in God, &c. Theſe things came from the *Pope*, and thither they will and muſt return.

To conclude: becauſe our adverſary tells us, that the church, from the days of the apoſtles, has had a ſucceſſive apoſtleſhip and miniſtry to confer, whether he will or no, he muſt imply, 'that there has been a 'true apoſtolical church ever ſince;' which is to give the lie to the Holy Ghoſt, that propheſied of a falling away, and a great apoſtacy. 2 Theſ. ii.

2dly. That if the miniſtry of the church of England be lawfully deſcended, and are ſucceſſors of the apoſtles, and ſo primitive miniſters, they muſt be apoſto-

apoſtolically qualified: but they are not ſo apoſtolically qualified, either as to the work of God in themſelves, the gift of the holy ſpirit, daily information, the effect of their miniſtry, that patience, meekneſs, plain-dealing, perſeverance, godly hoſpitality, continual labour, and ſelf-denying converſation; conſequently not lawfully deſcended, nor true ſucceſſors of the apoſtles and primitive miniſters.

Nor do we think it ſuch 'an intolerable preſumption, for mechanicks and tradeſmen to preach the 'goſpel,' as he would have it: for we well remember, that thoſe who believed and followed the Son of God, were reproached by the Scribes and Phariſees, the learned and national teachers of the Jews, for *illiterate* perſons;[w] crying out in that day, "Have any of the Rulers, or of the Phariſees, believed on him? but *this* "people, who know not the law, are accurſed?" It was that generation that called him and his diſciples ſo often, "This fellow; away with this fellow; this "peſtilent fellow," after the rate our adverſary doth treat us, as we may have occaſion anon to obſerve. In ſhort, Peter and John were found unlearned. Ouzelius, in his animadverſions on Minutius Felix, ſaith, 'That as the Gentiles did object to the Chriſtians their '*rude ſtile, ill-bred language*, and their being *deſtitute* of 'all *addreſs* or *civil ſalutation*, calling them *ruſticks* and '*clowns*; ſo did the Chriſtians, by way of irony and 'contempt, term them the *well-bred*, the *eloquent*, and 'the *knowing*:'[x] This he proves by ample teſtimonies out of Arnobius, Lactantius, Iſidorus, Peluſiota, Theodoret, and others.

In the conſtitutions of Clemens Romanus[y] (as ſuppoſed) it is enjoined, 'Abſtain from all the books of 'the Gentiles.' Alſo the council of Carthage had an expreſs canon againſt "reading heathen authors:"

[w] John vii. 48, 49. Mat. xi. 24. 26. 61. 71. Acts xxii. 22. chap. xxiv. 5. chap. iv. 13.
[x] John ix. 29.
[y] Conſt. Clem. Rom. lib. 1. Conc. Carth. diſt. 37. Cap. Epiſc. Jac. Laur. de lib. gent. p. 40, 41. Card. de Sap. lib. 2.

then Ariſtotle, and all that philoſophy, which fits prieſts at both univerſities.

Gratian hath alſo ſuch like paſſages as theſe, by way of complaint. 'We ſee that the prieſts of the 'Lord, neglecting the goſpels and the prophets, read 'comedies or play-books, and ſing love-verſes,' &c.

Cardan tells, 'That Gregory, though a Pope, 'burnt ſeveral laſcivious Latin authors, as Cæcilianus 'Affranius, Nævius Licinius,' &c. Nor had Plautus, Martial and Terence, now ſchool-books, eſcaped him, could he have helped it. In like manner Gregory Nazianzen, the father, ſuppreſſed ſeveral Greek authors, as Diphilus, Apollodorus, Philemon, Alexis, Sappho, &c.

And Petrus Bellonius,[z] that inquiſitive traveller, when at Mount Athos, where lived ſix thouſand Καλοίεροι in monaſteries, did not ſo much as find (no nor in all Greece) one man acquainted with the converſation of theſe poets: for though they had ſeveral manuſcripts of divinity in their libraries, yet not one poet, hiſtorian, or philoſopher. That they anathematized ſuch prieſts as ſtudied poeſy, or tranſcribed books not treating of religion.

And Dominicus à Soto,[a] ſtrongly pleads not only the liberty of every man's teaching any good that he knows, but that 'it is his duty to teach it.'

Machiavel aſſures us, 'the firſt promoters of Chriſ-'tianity commanded all poets and hiſtorians, which 'treated of the Gentiles vain converſation and wor-'ſhip, to be burned.'

Farther, concerning the illiterateneſs, meanneſs, and novelty, which the Gentiles objected againſt the Chriſtians, ſee 'Dr. Cave's Primitive Chriſtianity.'

By all which it appears, that the Quaker-preachers are nevertheleſs orthodox for being ignorant in human ſciences; ſince the moſt orthodox preachers have been

[z] Pet. Bell. obſ. l. 1. c. 35. Ib. 40. [a] Dom. Sot. in 4. Cent. diſt. 5. q. 1. Art. 10. p. 154. Mach. diſp. lib. 2. c. 5.

generally

generally ſuch, and that both before and after the coming of Chriſt.

In ſhort, That miniſtry which is experimental and powerful, for the turning of many from darkneſs to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, is the only true and evangelical miniſtry; and ſuch an one we both own and enjoy, bleſſed be the name of our God for ever!

CHAP. V.

His fourth chapter conſidered: Quakery (as he calls it) no Sadduciſm, as he would ſuggeſt. His meaſures of us wrong.

HIS great ill-will to the Quakers puts him upon flinging any thing upon them that he thinks will ſtick; at leaſt that he would have to do ſo.[b] We muſt this turn be, with all, Familiſts, Sadducees; but the fierce will of the man has precipitated him into a ſtrange miſtake: hear him.

'H. N. owns no other immortality than the con-'tinuance of his doctrine; nor judgment-ſeat of 'Chriſt, nor heaven, nor hell, but what are in this 'life. The Quakers,' ſays he, 'do the like; for 'T. Foſter ſays, in a book called 'A Guide to the 'Blind,' "that the ſecond appearance of Chriſt is in "ſpirit, to end ſin, and finiſh tranſgreſſion."

Now if this proves the agreement, I never ſaw the like; taking for granted what he repreſents H. N. to have held; in which I know he belies him. Is there no difference between ſaying, 'that Chriſt's ſecond 'appearance is in the Spirit,' and denying 'Immor-'tality, eternal judgment, heaven and hell?' O hideous conſequence and compariſon! But why is it ſuch falſe doctrine to ſay, that Chriſt's ſecond coming is ſpiritual? Shall he ever come ſo fleſhly as before?

[b] Page 75, 76, 77, 78.

Is not he glorified? After what manner was it he promiſed to come, when he ſaid, "Some ſtanding here "ſhall not taſte of death, till they ſee the Son of "Man come in his kingdom." Mat. xvi. 28. "I "will not leave you comfortleſs; I will come to you: "yet a little while and the world ſees me no more; "but ye ſee me, becauſe I live, ye live alſo. He that "is with you ſhall be in you," John xiv. 17, 18. And when the apoſtle Paul ſaid, "Though I have "known Chriſt after the fleſh, yet henceforth I know "him ſo no more: when it pleaſed God to reveal his "Son in me." I aſk, if this was not both a ſecond and a ſpiritual appearance? Certainly it muſt be another appearance from the former, therefore a *ſecond*: and it muſt be a ſpiritual one, becauſe it is unreaſonable to believe that Chriſt, as to his bodily appearance, could be all this to his diſciples and followers; therefore, his *ſecond* appearance is *ſpiritual*.

And for judgment, immortality, heaven and hell in this life, were not our adverſary a ſenſeleſs novice in theſe matters, his own doctors would teach him, 'That there ſhall be no other judgment, immortality, 'heaven or hell hereafter, than what every one has 'ſome meaſurable ſenſe or earneſt of in this life.' From hence he is ſo unjuſt to us, and H. N. too, as to give out to the world, 'We both deny all future 'immortality, judgment, heaven or hell.' I have declared the utmoſt of the thing, and doubt not but time will make him greatly aſhamed of his undertakings.

'But G. Fox, the Sadducee,' ſays he, 'holds, the 'ſoul is a part of the eſſence and being of God; there-'fore his concluſion is unqueſtionable;'[a] or to that purpoſe.

I am very ready to think the devil grievouſly angry with that *good man*: and indeed he has reaſon for it, (if I may ſay, that the devil can have reaſon for any thing he does) for he hath ſhrewdly brow-beaten his

[a] Page 82.

cauſe

cauſe in the world, and a great inſtrument has God made him of noble, and valiant, and durable acts among the ſons of men: and we ſhall ſo much the more reſpect and honour him, by how much untoward ſpirits ſeek to bear him down in the minds of people. But to anſwer our adverſary: How comes it he never quotes when he cites, I mean *page* his references? Does he think we are bound to peruſe a folio to defend any paſſage from his random reflections? What is he for a man, that he treats us ſo *à la negligence*; with this contemptuous neglect? Does he conceit people beholden to him for his ſlanders without proof, or that any thing againſt a Quaker is evidence enough? But I will tell the man, he miſtakes G. F. for the purport of his words is to ſhew, 'That the life 'God breathes into the ſoul of man, by which man 'comes to live to God, is ſomething of the Divine 'Being;' not that the ſoul, as a created capacity, without that inſpiration, is a part of God, or of his Divine Being: and ſo far candour (that keeps the eye clear) would have let him ſee, had not prejudice, and a deſire of miſrepreſenting and running us down, hurried him beyond the bounds of all moderation: nor is he alone in the matter; for many learned rabbies, and modern orthodox divines (as they are called and reputed) have affirmed the ſame. Let it be truth for their ſakes, if not for his.

In ſhort, were we of the mind he would have people to think we are, of all men none would be ſo miſerable: what! ſuffer in this world, becauſe of our faith and hope in the life of the other; and yet deny the very end of that hope, faith, and eternal life, which alone bears us over the troubles of this temporal one? I am perſuaded all moderate perſons will think better of us.

CHAP. VI.

He endeavours, in his fifth chapter, to prove us inconſiſtent with the good of civil magiſtracy. Our adverſary's reaſon too ſhort for his envy. Swearing not lawful.

HAD not this chapter been found among the reſt, I might perhaps have taken him for ſome zealous churchman, vexed only at the increaſe of the poor Quakers, on a mere religious ſcore. But when I ſee him wilfully miſtaken, and purpoſely characterizing them enemies to government, and that to the inſecurity of civil magiſtrates, I perceive what he would be at, and that nothing will ſerve him below our throats. He has multiplied words unneceſſarily; theſe two, 'Hang them,' would have both explained and perhaps gratified his mind better.

He delivers it as a fundamental of the Quakers religion, 'That they teſtify againſt proud and lofty 'magiſtrates, who rule not for God, but for themſelves:' to which, as a dangerous doctrine, he oppoſeth the apoſtle Peter's exhortation; "Submit "yourſelves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's "ſake, whether to the king, as ſupreme, or unto go"vernors, that are ſent by him for the puniſhment "of evil-doers, and for the praiſe of them that do "well;" crying out, 'Is not this a doctrine fitted to 'ſtir up ſedition and rebellion; and that ſuch are only 'magiſtrates in our account that are righteous in our 'eſteem. If a magiſtrate be wicked, obedience,' ſays he, 'is ſtill due to him.'

Anſ. True; but not to that which is wicked; for that were to open a door to all the impiety a Nero could be guilty of. But what contradiction is there betwixt the apoſtle's language and the Quakers? Can any ſober perſon think the apoſtle Peter exhorted the

[4] Page 90, 91, 92.

churches

churches to believe evil magiſtrates to be good ones? or prove lofty magiſtrates, who rule not for God, fit to be obeyed *therein?* This were to underſtand, as if the apoſtle meant, that ſuch as rule not for God, puniſh evil-doers, and praiſe them that do well: a contradiction! If our faith be dangerous, the ſcripture muſt be in queſtion. Muſt a reproving of evil be a diſowning of magiſtracy? It ſeems then that magiſtrates are not to be reproved, let their practices be never ſo exorbitant. Is there no difference between our diſlike of the unjuſt act of a Julian, and our rebellion againſt juſt authority? If ſhewing men their evils, be diſreſpect; and a reprehenſion of them as unchriſtian, be rebellion; we muſt read religion backwards. But God deliver all magiſtrates from ſuch counſellors, and us from ſuch enemies.

But that which is very remarkable, is the contradiction he gives himſelf, and the injuſtice he ſhews to us; who in one page ſays, 'We would deſtroy all ma-'giſtrates, not of our own opinion:' and in the very next gives it for our judgment, though with great diſlike, 'That magiſtrates ought not to impoſe opi-'nions in matters of religion;' as if we were ſuch wretches, as to deny that power unto magiſtrates, which we would tyrannically uſe ourſelves.

But he thinks he has enough againſt us in this expreſſion, 'All governors ought to be accountable to 'the people, and to the next ſucceeding rulers, for all 'their actions, which may be enquired into upon oc-'caſion.' 'This (ſays our adverſary, with a great rant) 'borders upon treaſon, reſpecting his majeſty the king 'of England.'

Anſ. But what if he was not then in *England*, but a ſort of people that held this very principle, and who had ſworn to God, before angels and men, to maintain it, and broke their ſolemn oaths? Was it not *argumentum ad hominem*, to ſuch a generation? And does not our adverſary know, that there are elective governments in the world, and annual choice of officers

cers in our own country, that are accountable both to the people and their ſucceſſors?

But ſince he has brought the king of England's name on the ſtage, upon this occaſion, I ſhall briefly tell him and the world two things, and let men reliſh them as they pleaſe. Firſt, That it is not for the intereſt or honour of his government, for any to be over-officious in the enlarging his prerogative beyond thoſe bounds, which the excellent fundamental laws of England have circumſcribed the whole government with. No prince's crown in Europe ſtands more firm than his, upon Engliſh law: the law gives both right and might. It has been the part of ſuch as dare not truſt their lives and actions with the law, to whiſper unlimited power into the ears of princes; but their ultimate aim was not their ſovereign's greatneſs, but their own protection. We are no ſycophants; yet we fear God, and honour the king. Secondly, It is not our buſineſs to meddle with government; but to obey, or ſuffer, for conſcience-ſake: can our adverſary aſk more? Several of us have been the faithful ſervants both of him and his father; and God knows, our kindneſs is not changed with our religion, though it admits not of our former way of ſhewing it. And this I may truly ſay in general, that not only our principle leads to no ſuch nice and buſy meddlings, but we are actually unconcerned in any ſuch things: we ſpeak not this out of fear or flattery; the truth has placed us far above both: but knowing the world will never be good till every one mends one; and that God's grace has therefore univerſally appeared, and yet doth, in the hearts of men; it is both our deſire, duty and practice, to endeavour after that holy, righteous, and innocent life it leads to, and that as well for others as ourſelves.

Of Swearing.

But he ſays, (page 93) 'inaſmuch as we refuſe to 'ſwear before a lawful magiſtrate, we contradict the 'word

'word of God, and throw away the greateſt tie any 'prince hath upon his ſubjects;' inſinuating as if we had been dabbling with the Jeſuits in this matter.

Anſ. It is ſtrange that ſuch an illiterate ſort of 'mechanicks, and ruſtick rabbies,' as he is pleaſed to call us, ſhould hold ſuch correſpondence with one of the moſt learned claſſes in the world! But as there is more difference between us and the Papiſts, than the Proteſtants and the Papiſts, by how much the Proteſtants have many things that are Popiſh, and we have not; ſo have I ever found theſe ſilly thread-bare ſlanders to be the refuge of ſhallow heads and weak cauſes. But I would have all know, as I have elſewhere ſaid, 'The ground of ſwearing is either through diſtruſt of 'honeſty in him that ſwears, or weakneſs in him to 'whom the oath is made.' The firſt takes in all the ſwearing that is now in the world; the laſt, thoſe oaths God condeſcended to make to the Jews. So that it is either an extraordinary way of evidence, to awe witneſſes into truth; or an extraordinary way of promiſing, to work belief in the incredulous.[e] Now incredulity and diſhoneſty are both unchriſtian: for as none are Chriſtians, but thoſe who are "buried with Chriſt "by baptiſm, and are raiſed up unto newneſs of life;" ſo in that pure law of the ſpirit of life, "Swear not at "all," is recorded. And ſo far is this from contradicting the word of God, that the Great Word of God hath ſo enjoined us, for all our adverſary's paraphraſe upon it, to wit, 'Swearing in communication;' for the ſwearing prohibited was ſuch as the law allowed, as Bp. Sanderſon well obſerves, 'It was not needful 'that Chriſt ſhould forbid what was forbidden in itſelf, 'or was always unlawful; which ſwearing in commu-'nication was and is, as by the third commandment, "Thou ſhalt not take the name of the Lord thy God "in vain.[f]"

[e] See Bp. Gauden of ſwearing, *The foundation of ſwearing now is the wickedneſs of men*, p. 36. [f] Bp. R. Sanderſon, De Jur. Oblig. p. 141.

Chriſt

Chriſt brought forth a righteouſneſs that needed it not; for that grace, faith and truth, which came by Jeſus Chriſt, take away the neceſſity of an oath. Conſequently ſo far as any are in that incredulity or diſhoneſty which needs it, ſo far they are not the followers and diſciples of Chriſt, nor qualified with his evangelical righteouſneſs. Indeed it is a ſhameful thing, and very diſhonourable to the Chriſtian religion, that they who pretend themſelves to be of a Chriſtian ſociety, ſhould be ſo un-Chriſt-like, to want and uſe the ſcaring and affrighting aſſeverations diſpenſed with in ſome of the weakeſt times of knowledge, by which to aſſure one another of their faith and truth. In ſuch caſes, where is their evangelical link and tie of unity? Certainly a true Chriſtian's *yea* ſhould be *yea*, and his *nay*, *nay*; that is, in anſwer to all queſtions, whether it relate to matter of evidence or promiſe, they ſhould ſpeak the truth, and mean and do what they ſay; which is enough.

This truth is ſo natural, that it is familiar with ſome to ſay, 'I had rather take his word than the other's 'oath;[g]' which ſhews how much honeſty is more credible than ſwearing. This made the primitive Chriſtians not only refuſe to ſwear by the fortune of Cæſar, but to ſwear *at all*, telling their judges in their anſwers, 'It was unlawful for a Chriſtian to ſwear.' And Bp. Gauden himſelf aſſures us, 'that they were 'ſo ſtrict and exact, that there was no need of an 'oath among them: yea, they ſo kept up the ſanctity 'and credit of their profeſſion among unbelievers, 'that it was ſecurity enough in all caſes to ſay, *Chriſ-'tianus ſum*, I am a Chriſtian;' and that if any urged them farther, 'they repeated this, as the only ſatisfac-'tion they would give;' the veracity of their word.

[g] As the thief in Eſſex, who robbing a Quaker, in company with another, and uſing them fairly, deſired them not to ſtir, till they were got clear of the road; upon which ſaid the other man, 'I'll 'ſwear.' *You ſwear! you'll ſwear through an anvil and back 'again; will the other promiſe?* Thieves *know* honeſty, though they do not *practiſe* it.

And

And that he might farther ſhew, how diſhonourable and needleſs a thing it was for good and holy men, and true Chriſtians, to ſwear, he brings in the whole body of the Eſſenes, with ſeveral wiſe Heathens and Chriſtian fathers: indeed it was a primitive maxim, *Non oportet, ut vir qui evangelicè vivit, juret omnino:* 'It behoves not, that a man of an evangelical life 'ſhould ſwear in any caſe.' And this doctrine was cloſely followed by Chryſoſtom, Theophylact, and ſeveral other ancient Chriſtian doctors. Nor were the Heathens wholly inſenſible of the truth of this matter, as Bp. Gauden farther informs us out of Polybius, 'that the better and ſimpler ages of the world rarely 'uſed any oaths at all, no not ſo much as in judica-'ture; but after perfidy and lies increaſed, oaths in-'creaſed, as a remedy to reſtrain thoſe miſchiefs.' To which let me add, that ſome of the ancient ſages, Socrates and Xenocrates, knew, urged, and alſo practiſed a life beyond an oath.

So that if thoſe who are truly diſcipled, redeemed, and renewed by the power and ſpirit of Chriſt Jeſus, need no oath; nay, that it is a queſtioning of their veracity, and an affronting of their profeſſion, to offer them one; and if 'the lying, familiar ſwearing, for-'ſwearing, and fraudulent dealing of wicked men, 'make their oaths of little or no credit,' as ſaith the biſhop, out of Lactantius and Auſtin; certainly it will be much better to prevent ſwearing, and puniſh lying with the penalty due to forſwearing; which ſuggeſts an unanſwerable return to that familiar objection, 'But how do we know that ye are thoſe honeſt men?' For we have not only the ſame anſwer the ancient Chriſtians had to give, with this ſevere rebuke, 'That 'ye are the reproach of Chriſtianity, who under that 'good name act thoſe vile impieties the nobler Hea-'then judged, and the looſeſt have not out-done;' but we have this farther to offer; 'Diſpenſe with our 'conſciences in not ſwearing, and puniſh our untruth, 'when ye find it, as ſeverely as ye do their perjury?'

What

What more can be deſired, ſince truth-ſpeaking fulfils the law, and puniſhing falſe-ſpeaking ſatisfies it?

CHAP. VII.

Of the LIGHT WITHIN.

IT is matter of ſad complaint, that a man ſhould write of ſo excellent a ſubject as the light within, and ſhew ſo much darkneſs in treating of it. P. 99, 101, 102, 103.

But leſt he ſhould ſay, that our uncertain and various expreſſions, for ſuch he eſteems them, put him beſides all faith in it, we ſhall endeavour to make their conſiſtency, both with themſelves, and the ſcriptures of truth, appear.

He quotes Tho. Foſter, in his 'Guide to the Blind,' p. 1. thus, "God is the light," p. 7. *as a man forgetting himſelf*, 'Chriſt within is man's true light to 'walk by:' and in p. 9. *as doubting whether that would hold water*, ſays, 'The Spirit of Chriſt in man is the 'true light and guide; and this light enlightens every 'man that comes into the world.' *But*, ſays he, *if* James Naylor *may be judge, our friend* Thomas (he was ſo, though thou art an enemy, and a mocker of his memory) *is very much miſtaken: for in his book called*, 'A Door opened to the Impriſoned,' p. 2, 3. *he ſays*, 'That the light of the world is God's love to the 'world; and this light is not given to any till they 'come out of the world.' And that George Whitehead, in 'The Seed of Iſrael's Redemption,' p. 20. ſays, 'That the light within, is a meaſure of the 'Lord's life and light.'

Anſ. To the firſt quotation there can be no cavil; for it is plain ſcripture, "God is light," 1 John i. 5. And it was the apoſtolical meſſage ſo to preach, "That "God is light, and in him is no darkneſs at all." John i. 9.

The

The ſecond is alſo moſt true; for Chriſt is man's true light, "That was the true light which enlightens "every man," &c. And that it was for man to walk by, both Chriſt and his apoſtles prove. "I am the "light of the world; he that followeth me ſhall not "walk in darkneſs, but ſhall have the light of life." John viii. 12. Again, "If ye walk in the light, as "He is in the light," &c. 1 John i. 7. God is light, and Chriſt is light: and ſince there is no knowing of God or Chriſt but by the manifeſtation of light; and that none know the Father but thoſe to whom Chriſt, the light, reveals him; therefore Chriſt is man's true light, without which man can never know either God or Chriſt.

For his third quotation, I ſee no contradiction in it to the two former, unleſs Chriſt can be without his Spirit; for if the *Spirit* of Chriſt dwell in any man, *Chriſt* dwells in that man. This language the apoſtle uſed to the Romans, chap. viii. 9, 10, 11. "If the "Spirit of God be in you." Again, "If the Spirit "of Chriſt be in you." Yet again, "If the Spirit "of him that raiſed up Jeſus dwell in you:" all which are *ſynonymous*, or to one and the ſame purpoſe. For ſhame! thou a *ſcholar*, a *Græcian*, a *diſputant*, that makeſt ſuch ſorry cavils! Might not the Jews and Heathens have made the ſame exceptions againſt the apoſtle? But it is an old devil-trick to be-ſaint and extol the holy ancients, whilſt they hug the ſpirit that murdered them, and with it perſecute the truth in this age: ſo cunning is the devil, and ſo blind is the world. But let us ſee how much more honeſt he is in his next quotation, than rational in the three former.

That the 'Light of the world is God's love to the 'world,' I find in James Naylor's book: but that the 'Light is not given to any till they come *out* of the 'world,' is a direct 'lie to our principle,' and a putting an abſolute 'forgery upon his book:' for he ſays, 'That God has given his light to the world; 'that therein is his love manifeſted, that ſuch as fol-'low it in its leadings out of the world, have the na-

'ture

'ture of ſons: but ſonſhip is that which cannot be 'had whilſt in the world's nature; therefore they are 'to come out of the world's ways, to follow the light, 'which viſits man in the world's ways, in order to 'bring him out of them; and here the true ſonſhip is 'received:' ſo that the ſonſhip, and not the light, is that which cannot be had in the world. Now what contradiction can this be to our diſhoneſt adverſary's honeſt friend Thomas, who ſaid, 'That the light en-'lightened every man that comes into the world?' Sure I am it is a plain inſtance of our adverſary's diſingenuous and injurious practice.

For G. Whitehead's words, the ſubſtance of them is to be found in John i. 14, 16. "The Word was "full of grace and truth; and of his fulneſs have all "we received, and grace for grace."

But he ſays, 'H. N. teaches that every godly man 'is God incarnate, and Chriſt incarnate; and that this 'is the doctrine of the Quakers,' ſays he, 'I prove, 'Firſt, becauſe T. Foſter, in his 'Guide to the Blind,' pag. 13. ſaith, 'The light which is Chriſt within, is 'not natural, but ſufficient to ſalvation.' Now I appeal to the whole world, what affinity there can be between H. N's words and Tho. Foſter's. Is *God incarnate*, or *Chriſt incarnate*, to be found in his aſſertion? Nor will I paſs my word for his right quotation of H. N. What he quarrels at here, I know not. Would he not have Chriſt manifeſted within? Or would he have him *natural*, in oppoſition to *ſpiritual?* Or would he have his light and ſpirit *inſufficient* to ſalvation? If he intends any of theſe, he croſſes expreſs ſcripture, blaſphemes againſt God, and fruſtrates the very end of the goſpel: if none of them, why was this paſſage cited? But he thinks G. F. has made much for his purpoſe, who, in his 'Great Myſtery,' p. 207, 201. ſaith, 'Chriſt is not diſtinct from the 'ſaints; and he that eats the fleſh of Chriſt hath it 'within him.' And what of all this? Is Chriſt divided from his ſaints? Was he not in them of old the hope of glory? "He that is with you, ſhall be in you.

"And

" And at that day he ſhall know, that I am in my " Father, and you in me, and I in you.[g]" For the other part, I wonder he cited it: certain it is, " That " unleſs men eat the fleſh of Chriſt, they have no life " in them." Now how a man can be ſaid to *eat* any thing, and not have it *within* him, is a diſtinction paſt my underſtanding.

But Geo. Fox ſaith, pag. 206. ' If there be any ' Chriſt but he that was crucified within, he is a falſe ' Chriſt; and he that hath him not within, is a re- ' probate.'

Anſ. Our return to this will be very ſhort. 1ſt, By Chriſt crucified *within*, he does not deny that he was once crucified *without* (as the ſame page proveth) as our adverſary would inſinuate. 2dly, There can be no falſe doctrine in it, unleſs the owning of Chriſt being crucified within through wicked works, neceſſarily ſhould imply our denying that he was ever crucified *without*; from the danger of which conſequence the ſcriptures of truth ſufficiently ſecure us. Heb. vi. 6. " Seeing they crucify to themſelves the Son of God " afreſh." Alſo Rev. xi. 18. 3dly, And that ſuch are reprobates in whom he lives not, remember that unanſwerable paſſage, 2 Cor. xiii. 5. " Examine " yourſelves, whether you be in the faith; prove your " own ſelves, know you not your own ſelves, how " that Jeſus Chriſt is *in* you, except you be repro- " bates?"

But ſays our adverſary, ' Ric. Stubbs, a Quaker, told ' Eliz. Wetherly, That the Jeſus who was born of the ' Virgin, and died at Jeruſalem, was a falſe Chriſt, ' and an Antichriſt.' But this needs no long anſwer; for it is an abſolute untruth, raiſed by the devil within, and his envious emiſſaries without, to bring us, the poor deſpiſed people of God, into infamy with all who have any reverence for the name of Chriſt: and God will plead our innocency in this man's conſcience, by that holy light which he blaſphemouſly ſaith, ' leads

[g] Col. i. 27. John xiv. 17, 20. John vi. 53, 54.

'down to hell and the devil, carrying man, like an 'ignis fatuus, into bogs and ditches, cauſing him at 'laſt to fall into the pit of everlaſting deſtruction.' For this I would have all the world to know, that GOD, who is "the ſearcher of the heart, and the trier "of the reins, who alone ſheweth unto man his "thoughts,[h]" is the Great Spiritual *Light*, John i. 1. And it is as ſuch, that he ſetteth man's ſins before him, as ſaith the apoſtle, "Whatſoever makes manifeſt is "light," Epheſ. v. 13. And ſaith the ſame apoſtle, "Whatſoever may be known of God, is made mani-"feſt within men; for God hath ſhewed it unto "them." Rom. i. 19. Such as bring their deeds unto this light, may know whether they are "wrought "in God or no.[i]" And for this end hath the Eternal Word enlightened every man that cometh into the world, that he may come to the light, and walk and grow up in it: for as all have given unto them, out of his fulneſs, grace for grace,[k] ſo, from his fulneſs of light, hath he given all men light for light; not a mere natural CAPACITY, or creaturely UNDERSTANDING, but that *divine light* or *grace*, which is able to teach, ſanctify, and govern the ſoul to God's glory, and its own everlaſting happineſs: in the Word, by whom all things were made, was *life*, and that life was the light of men: and as it was then, ſo is it now, the condemnation of the world, that "Men love darkneſs "rather than light, becauſe their deeds are evil." Some, with the Phariſee, prefer their formal, literal, and ceremonial religion; and others, their pleaſures, paſtimes, and worldly honour and profit, before this inward, pure light, and law of the ſpirit of life, the leaven of the kingdom, and truth in the inward parts, which frees from ſin, and brings into the heavenly liberty of the ſons of God. And we do teſtify in the name of God, that it is only by this meaſure of that divine fulneſs, which above one thouſand ſix hundred

[h] Pſal. vii. 9. Jer. xi. 20. Amos iv. 13. [i] John iii. 21.
[k] John xix. 14.

years

years ago was manifeſted in the fleſh, that any man or woman can ever come to a right ſight, ſenſe, reliſh, and enjoyment of the bleſſed ends and effects of his gracious appearance, heavenly goſpel, mighty miracles, holy life, death, and ſufferings, his powerful reſurrection, glorious aſcenſion, and conſtant mediation and interceſſion. And that all knowledge, faith, and worſhip, not grounded upon this internal ſight, ſenſe, and operation of this divine meaſure of grace, light, and truth in the inward parts, are but hiſtorical and phariſaical; making up but the Jew outward, and Chriſtian outward, who are not children of the free woman, nor heirs according to the promiſe. And if for this bleſſed teſtimony we muſt be thus abuſed, defamed, and ſet at nought by the black-robed rabbies of this world, as the prophets, and Chriſt himſelf, were, God will be our abundant recompence; who is the Author of that good reformation begun, and will, I hope, be the Finiſher of it, to his own immortal honour, and our unutterable rejoicing, world without end!

CHAP. VIII.

Of ſome of our adverſary's lies and ſlanders.

HIS next chapter, containing a ſhort account of the Quakers pretences to immediate revelation, hath been already effectually conſidered; only I ſhall take notice of two or three particulars.[1]

Firſt, 'That he would have the ſadneſs and dejection of thoſe that turn Quakers, and the zeal and fluency of thoſe that preach among them, to be the effect of the hypochondria.'

Anſ. This ſhews what an eaſy religion our adverſary lives in, who yet knows not the terrors of the Lord: how unfit is he to warn men? Had he ever known

[1] Pag. 107, 108, 109, 110, 111.

God's word to be as a ſword, an hammer, an axe, a conſuming fire, and everlaſting burnings againſt ſin and iniquity, the pangs of a new birth, and how hard it is to become a true diſciple through the daily croſs, he would never have made ſuch a frothy, dark, and envious conſtruction of our ſerious convictions: but God's fire will one day burn up his peaceable habitation; and in that day of alarm, he and the reſt of his jovial crew ſhall know the meaning of theſe words, "They that pierced him ſhall ſee him, and all the "kindreds of the earth ſhall *wail* becauſe of him."

But whatever diſeaſe we have, his frequent and ſenſeleſs ſcoffs at us, and our holy way, ſhew that the ſpleen is very prevalent in him.

For his reflection on Edw. Burroughs, it will do him no harm; his ſoul is with God, and his memory ſhall outlive his enemies hate. And for this ranting ſcribbler, he is not worthy to carry his books after him.

For his 'Gentle-man of Newcaſtle,' who affirmed, 'Some Quakers came to Kendal church, and ſaid, they 'had a commiſſion from the Lord to pull down the 'ſteeple-houſe; and another in ſermon-time to pull 'down the hour-glaſs,' I muſt tell him, that we know no ſuch thing; and if it were a fair adverſary, he would have told us who this gentleman was, and who the Quakers, that we might have informed ourſelves of the truth of the matter; though we have great cauſe to conclude it a downright forgery. For the other, it is altogether as likely to come of the ſame ſtock:

That 'the wife of one Williamſon ſhould call Ja. 'Milner the eternal ſon of God, at Appleby,' is an arrant falſhood; for we have particularly enquired, and can find no ſuch thing.

That 'a woman at Weighton in Yorkſhire, of that 'goatiſh herd (as he is pleaſed to call them) went 'naked up to another woman's huſband's bed, and bid 'him open his bed to her, for the Father had ſent her,' is a ſlander hatched in darkneſs: we deny it in the name

name of the Lord God: and I charge this diſingenuous man, if he has any regard to his reputation, or thoſe he belongs to, to prove, if he can, the truth of this ſtory.

And that he ſhould at laſt call this, 'A taſte of the 'Quakers deluded dreams, melancholick fancies, im-'poſtures, injections, everlaſting errors and deceits,' is the top of what impudence and forgery man can well be guilty of againſt his neighbour. But why *our* goatiſh herd, above all others? unjuſt and uncivil man! Look at home, for ſhame! How often are Quakers brought to eccleſiaſtical courts for uncleanneſs? We know they are too often ſummoned there for tithes: it would be almoſt endleſs to tell the ſtories of both prieſts and people's wickedneſs that follow them: one would think that no church of England-man, that knew any thing of the preſent age, or that thought we did, could believe that forging one unclean lie againſt the Quakers, ſhould invalidate their *religion*, who believes his *own* to be true, notwithſtanding thoſe numerous inceſts, adulteries, fornications, concupiſcences, murders, lies, perjuries, diſſimulations, thefts, injuries, and ſuch like, that have been, and daily are, committed by his dear fellow-communicants, the ſons and daughters of the church of England. Let him therefore draw in his horns, and leave off puſhing at us with his forgeries and defamations; and repent of this ungodly way of dealing with us, that he may find mercy to his ſoul.

CHAP. IX.

Of PERFECTION.

I Perceive the man would fain ſay ſomething of every controverted head held by the Quakers, though as little to the purpoſe as may be. There is but one thing commendable in his whole chapter, and that is its brevity. He ſtumbles at the very entrance, and never recovers himſelf to the end.

'The Quakers talk much of perfection from ſin in 'this life; and that they have already attained to it.' *Quote*, he ſcorns; his *word* is credit enough; at leaſt he would have it ſo: but to let him go on. 'This,' ſays he, 'is the Phariſee's litany, "God, I thank thee! "I am not as other men are." The Antinomian li-'tany; the doctrine of Dell, Saltmarſh, Town, and 'all Antinomians and Familiſts: and that malice and 'railing perpetually make up the greateſt part of the 'Quakers ſpeaking to the people.' But what of argument can be found in ſuch mere aſſertion and reflection, I leave with ſober men to judge. He neither underſtands Antinomians, Familiſts, nor Quakers. And truly I am ready to think him ſome raw, unfledged, under graduate, who by this eſſay aims at giving ſuch a proof of his abilities, as may induct him to ſome fat benefice; or elſe one that thought we deſerved no larger teſtimony of his ability, honeſty, and diſcretion, in his endeavours againſt us.

In ſhort; a perfect principle we plead for, and preſs the neceſſity and benefit of man's conformity to it: that though it be a *little leaven*, it is able to leaven the *whole lump:* that this grace brings ſalvation from ſin, by the power it gives them that obey it to mortify ſin: elſe what a riddle would thoſe ſcriptures make, that ſpeak of "Sanctification throughout, in body, "ſoul, and ſpirit?" That "He that is born of God "ſins not. Old things are done away, behold all "things are become new. I write unto you, young "men, becauſe ye have overcome the wicked one. Be "ye perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect. "Unto a perfect man. Let us cleanſe ourſelves from "all filthineſs of fleſh and ſpirit, perfecting holineſs "in the fear of the Lord. The God of all grace "make you perfect,[m]" &c. Wherein not only a *perfection from ſin*, but the going forward to a *perfect man*

[m] 1 Theſ. v. 23. 1 John v. 18. Chap. ii. 13. Mat. v. 48. Eph. iv. 13. 2 Cor. vii. 1. 1 Pet. v. 10.

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in Chriſt, is exhorted to, and prayed for; therefore not unobtainable.

To conclude: We do not teach people the perfection of our perſons, but the principle of God, and our experience of its converting and tranſlating power. *Chriſt* is ſtronger than the *devil*; and for this, was and is he manifeſted, "To end ſin, and deſtroy the "works of the devil;" a doctrine the church of England teaches in her baptiſm. Nor do we ſay, That every man is *perfect* from ſin as ſoon as he is *convinced* of ſin: no, there is a great war, a long wilderneſs to travel through, many enemies to ſubdue, and difficulties to ſurmount; and thoſe enemies are moſtly thoſe of a man's own houſe. We therefore exhort all to wait for "God's ariſing, that his enemies "may be ſcattered;" that witneſſing a victorious ſtate over hell and death, by the power of Chriſt Jeſus, ſuch may obtain "the new name which is "written in the Lamb's Book of Life," and promiſed to all that overcome: which is far from that ungodly ranteriſm he would faſten upon us and our principles: and I doubt not but time, patience, and our blameleſs converſation, ſhall diſpel thoſe miſts which malice and ignorance may have raiſed, to darken and blemiſh the reputation of our practice, perſons, and principles in the world.

CHAP. X.

His ninth and tenth chapter of the ways and arts that the Quakers uſe in gaining proſelytes, with the advantage their way has over other hereſies, honeſtly conſidered, and briefly confuted.

'THE firſt artifice,' he ſays we uſe, 'is, to come 'in ſheep's cloathing. Now what is this 'ſheep's cloathing,' ſays he, 'but only the innocence 'and purity of the Chriſtian doctrine? When-as their 'main purpoſe is to devour credulous ſouls.' p. 117.

Anſ. If we have the ſheep's cloathing, and if the ſheep's cloathing be the purity and innocence of Chriſtian doctrine, then is our doctrine innocent, pure, and Chriſtian. And ſince he avers the doctrine of the church of *England* to be ſo remote and oppoſite, this character muſt neceſſarily imply, that her doctrine is hurtful, impure, and antichriſtian.

But what have we ſeduced people to? Drunkenneſs, whoredom, perjury, wantonneſs, idleneſs, or any ſuch unſeemly or irreligious practice? Let him tell me who of us are leſs ſerious, leſs moral, or worſe livers than we were before. But the truth of the matter is this: Our way of devouring people's ſouls, as he calls it, is that which hinders the hireling prieſts from devouring the people's pockets, and endangering their ſouls to; who "teach for hire, and divine for mo-"ney," and make religion but a ſtalk to preferment, who have the ſhell without the ſubſtance, "the form "without the power:" from ſuch, in obedience to God's Spirit, we have turned away; and becauſe we have dared no longer to put into their mouths, their covetous ſpirit has ſwelled, (notwithſtanding their pretences) and their ſheep-ſkin burſt, and an arrant wolf has come forth; no true ſheep, but a ſheep-fleecer, and a ſheep-ſucker of their blood, whoſe innocency and patience have plainly proved them ſuch. But the wolf's

wolf's and the fox's ſkin have been always good enough for us! Any thing to diſguiſe, and make the dogs faſten and worry to death! Our conſcience they call *enthuſiaſm*; and our ſolemn confeſſion, *colluſion* and *equivocation*; our perſeverance is reputed *obſtinacy*; our plainneſs, *ſingularity*; our induſtry, *worldly-mindedneſs*; and our retired living, *penuriouſneſs*; our rebukes of evil, they will have to be *cenſoriouſneſs*; and our diſregard of company, *pride*, and *ſullenneſs*. Whatever God by his light has made conſcience to us, there are a ſort of men that have ſo little conſcience, as to conſtrue it all backwards; rendering us, inſtead of honeſt, conſcientious men, 'A pack of fraudulent cheating fellows:' but we cannot help it; if men will rage, they muſt: their ſhame, and our patience, will the more appear.

He ſays, 'Our ſecond ſtratagem is, to bring the 'people out of love with their paſtors, who have the 'care of them.'

Anſ. I know not a Quaker in the world that would not adminiſter both food and raiment to the worſt perſecutor, as a neceſſitous creature: but I hope they would ſuffer unto death before they would contribute either to him as a *prieſt:* no; God's witneſs in our conſciences never ſaid *Amen* to their miniſtry. They have the ſcriptures, true: but the "word of reconci-"liation, that brings to God," and of which they declare, they want. I know that ſome of them can talk well; ſo can ſome mountebanks and comedians. Do they witneſs the truth of what they ſpeak? Their heads know, but do their hearts feel the operation of that truth they will ſometimes in words declare? Have they travelled the way, and traced the many anxious ſteps of that *new birth*, which is the only door into the heavenly kingdom? But alas! Oxford and Cambridge *make* them, and their parents and patrons *prefer* them: a good round maintenance is moſtly their aim on all hands: tell them of the neceſſity of an inward work; that it is the Spirit of God that only makes

makes a man a miniſter of God, and that the anointing, which true Chriſtian-men receive, is ſufficient to their inſtruction, and preſently the cry is, 'Donatiſm, 'Pelagianiſm, Familiſm, Browniſm, Jeſuitiſm, Quakeriſm,' or any other name that begets jealouſy, undervalue and hatred. In ſhort, we do believe, that the ſettled miniſters of the world are ſo far from being beneficial to people, that, on the contrary, they exerciſe their minds with a ſort of unexperienced, unauthorized preaching; leading from the ſecret ſtrivings, diſcoveries, and conduct of that Spiritual Miniſter of the everlaſting covenant, which is able to bring man into that way of holineſs, without which no ſoul ſhall ever ſee the Lord: and this is the true reaſon why we are turned unto *God*'s Miniſter, Chriſt Jeſus, who ſays, "Learn of me:" of whom God ſaid, "This is my beloved Son, hear *him*;" and reject the miniſtry of *man*.

'Our third artifice,' by which he ſays we gain our proſelytes, is 'denying all human learning, and uſe 'of reaſon: that we are the moſt ſottiſh and ignorant 'ſect that ever appeared in the world: yet, for our 'own turn, we will be nibbling at it, as G. W. in 'mentioning a moth-eaten manuſcript, mentioned by 'Beza in his annotations.[n]'

Anſ. We have already ſaid enough to defend Chriſtianity from the *abſolute neceſſity* of human learning, either to underſtand or vindicate it: and ſo falſe is his aſſertion, 'That ſince prophecy has ceaſed in the 'church, ſecular learning hath been of greateſt uſe 'and benefit to religion,' that there is nothing more true than the contrary, as it is commonly underſtood, promoted, and practiſed in the world. I would fain know, how many *rabbies*, Greek and Latin *philoſophers*, yielded themſelves proſelytes to the Chriſtian religion, though they had *his* preſence, miniſtry, miracles, death, and reſurrection amongſt them, who was and is the

[n] Page 120, 121.

Author

Author and Maſter of it? If *ſuch* learning be ſo great a friend to truth, how comes it that the greateſt things have fallen to the ſhare of *poor* and *illiterate* men; and that ſuch have been moſt apt to receive, and boldeſt to ſuffer for it? Why not *rabbies*, rather than *fiſher-men*, which was before the pouring out of the ſpirit of prophecy? and for what reaſon ſhould ſo many learned *academies*, ſince the pretended ceaſing of it, *(a)* be overrun with ſuch foul idolatries, groſs ſuperſtitions, and flagitious living, as 1200 years paſt will witneſs. Nay, on the occaſion of any reformation, with whom is there more to do, and who harder to be brought to yield, than univerſities have been? Scripture and ſtory give it clear againſt him.

Not that I would be thought to oppoſe *all* ſorts of learning, neither: it has been man's erring from his Divine Guide, that has made way for thoſe numerous theſes, diſtinctions, books, and controverſies, the world for ages hath been infeſted with. Such are the obſcure, unintelligible, and unprofitable *metaphyſicks* of the heathen, too greedily received, and miſchievouſly increaſed, by *fathers*, *councils*, *ſchool-men*, and our modern *univerſities*, to the corrupting of Chriſtian doctrine, and diſputing away the benefit of Chriſtian life. An unbounded curioſity and fancy have been the womb that hath brought forth ſo much troubleſome and unprofitable matter, which began with a degeneration of philoſophers; true philoſophy, in the beginning of it, being no more than 'the way of holy 'living, by the mortification of paſſions.' But learning, as religion, failing by corruption of men, is now

(a) But why is it ceaſed? Becauſe ceaſed to *you*, ſons of the night? Did not Chriſt promiſe to be with his to the *end?* Either that is not ſo, or his being with them endues them not with the ſpirit of prophecy: was it not *apoſtolical*, and in the firſt churches? Why not *now?* Is it leſs *wanted?* Is Chriſt not that to his church *he was?* A blind argument indeed! Becauſe the prieſts of *man*'s making have it not, therefore *none* have it. "I will pour out my Spirit upon "thee, and upon thy ſeed, and thy ſeed's ſeed unto *all generations*." Iſa. v. 9.

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degenerated into quite another thing. Socrates taught proper ſpeech, and good life, and ſuch a courſe of learning as turned to daily practice and profit; ſeverely forbidding all curioſities and niceties, as what turned not to good life, which he reputed the beſt ſcience; and Plato would have the *poets* baniſhed out of his commonwealth, as corrupting it with fables: thus was learning, as religion, once pure and ſimple. In ſhort, all *right learning* is to be divided into theſe two, *true knowledge*, and *proper language*. *(b)* This knowledge relates, firſt, to God, and that is only to be received from the Spirit of God: and, ſecondly, the things of this life; and therein the ſpirit of man has a large field to act in, to the enlargement of its own underſtanding, and benefit of the whole creation, as ſubject to God's grace; as knowing the nature and order of things in the creation, building, improvement of land, medicine, chirurgery, traffick, navigation, hiſtory, government, with many other honeſt, uſeful, and profitable arts and inventions, for the help and good of mankind. And if man had kept in God's counſel, the many ſuperfluous and unneceſſary arts and inventions that are in the world, had never been brought forth by him; and time will work them out, as it brought them in; ſo that what is plain, honeſt, ſerviceable, and of good report, ſhall be preſerved for the good of the creation.

As for *language*, it muſt be granted that there is a propriety and decency in language: but as men have followed the *outſide* of *religion*, and left the *ſubſtance*

(b) Theſe men were only verſed in their *own* tongues: they were many of them mechanicks and tradeſmen: anſwering, among the *Gentiles*, to the prophets and apoſtles among the *Jews* and *Chriſtians* (though far ſhort of them.) So that learning and philoſophy, like to religion, are now ſo changed, the ancients would be at a loſs to know them: another thing has poſſeſſed itſelf of the name of each: for to be a philoſopher, or lover of wiſdom, which was "to eſchew "all evil;" and learning, which was "to unlearn every ill thing," as Socrates ſaid, are now turned to dark and unprofitable conteſts, elaborate and unſerviceable ſtudies, to ſtuff mens heads.

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behind, ſo have they done with *learning:* they have neglected *matter*, the moſt beneficial part of learning, and devoted themſelves to an exceſs of fine *ſpeaking*; of which biſhop Wilkins, in his 'Real Character,' complains not without a cauſe, when he ſays, 'That 'this grand impoſture of phraſing hath eaten out all 'ſolid learning.'

Yet language is very convenient for mens converſe with books and nations of a different tongue; however, we utterly deny them to be abſolutely neceſſary to the true knowledge of the myſteries of God's kingdom. So that the true Engliſh of the Quakers denying all reaſon and learning, is this; we refuſe to commend or practiſe unneceſſary ſtudies, nice controverſies, voluminous and intricate diſputations, obſcurity of language, affectedneſs of ſtile, exceſs of elegancy; believing, that learning, as well as religion, ſtands in need both of great purging and reducing: and that thoſe ſubjects and employments which are moſt ſerviceable and beneficial to mankind, and agreeable to God's grace, digeſted into eaſy and familiar methods, and treated on in the plain and ordinary way of ſpeaking, beſt deſerve man's time and regard. And for his reflection upon G. Whitehead, it no farther deſerves our notice, than that he flung a greater upon Beza, whoſe learning he makes a little too bold with. To ſay no more of his *moth-eaten-manuſcripts* than this, That the beſt copies he has had for his rule, have been near a-kin to ſuch *moth-eaten-manuſcripts*; and if ſuch a manuſcript was the holy ſcripture, as I believe it was, he was too bold and irreverent, as well as unwary and fooliſh, in calling it a *moth-eaten-ſcripture*, thereby implying it to be a *moth-eaten-rule*; not that I take it to be *his* rule, who has ſo fearfully erred and ſtrayed from the holy precepts and exhortations of it.

The fourth thing by which he reports us to proſelyte people is, 'To deceive and aſſociate firſt with 'women, therein imitating the devil.'

Anſ. Firſt, we deny it, as being like the reſt of his idle ſtories, and thoſe that not only in the primitive times

times by the Heathen, but in ſeveral ages ſince, and degrees of breaking forth of truth and reformation from apoſtate generations, have been by them faſtened upon the ſincere profeſſors thereof; as Waldenſes, Lollards, Hugonots, and Proteſtants themſelves, in their firſt day, as well as more modern Diſſenters. We muſt take our ſhare; it is no new nor ſtrange thing.

But ſuppoſing it to be true, that our endeavours are firſt directed towards the women, I ſee no evil in our beginning to undeceive, where the devil began to deceive. If they are ſo eaſy to be perſuaded, why not to good as well as to evil? But theſe idle ſhifts, and pitiful evaſions, deſerve rather to be diſdained than conſidered.

Laſtly, (page 125, 126, 127.) 'For our pretending 'to higher degrees of holineſs, and cracks and boaſts 'of inſpirations, with our bewitching language, which 'is nothing but canting, and ſcripture phraſe fitted 'to feminine fancies; by which,' he ſays, 'we have 'the advantage of all other hereſies;*(c)*' I return thus much:

Anſ. It is our faith, that God, who made heaven and earth, will judge the ſecrets of all men by Jeſus Chriſt; ſo that it is not only my duty, but my intereſt, to ſpeak the truth of my conſcience in this matter. We dare pretend to no higher degree than we have attained; but we muſt make a difference between what we were whilſt under the miniſtry of man, and what we are ſince our being turned to God's powerful word in the heart, Chriſt's miniſtry: we ſhould be falſe to God, injurious to our neighbour, and ſmother

(c) Rainerius the monk, and a terrible enemy to the poor Waldenſes, made the ſame complaints againſt them. 'They uſed,' ſays he, 'to teach firſt what the diſciples of Chriſt ought to be, and that 'none are his diſciples, *but they that imitate his life:* and that the 'popes, cardinals, &c. becauſe they live in pride, avarice, and 'luxury, &c. are not the lawful ſucceſſors of Chriſt, in that they 'walk not up to his commandments. Thus,' ſays the monk, 'they 'win upon the people.' *P. P. Pet. Hiſt. Wald.*

and

and belie our own convictions, if we ſhould not ſay, 'That we have found our Judge near us, our Guide, 'Lawgiver, and Rule very nigh unto us;' and thoſe infirmities, temptations, and corruptions, God has, by this heavenly grace, given us power againſt; by which we have known that mortification of ſin, and conformity to the will of God, which the utmoſt of our former profeſſion could never free us from. And if this plain and Chriſtian confeſſion muſt be called by all thoſe hard names our adverſary finds for our honeſt intentions, we muſt, as we have done, recommend our cauſe to God, and his holy witneſs in all conſciences, and him to be judged by him; to whom we deſire to ſtand and fall in all we ſay, do, and take in hand; to whom alone we owe the honour of our experiences and preſervations.

However, the irreverence of the man deſerves both our notice, and the reproof of all that read him: what! Is ſcripture-language become a cant; and a ſober and ſeaſonable uſe of it, canting fitted to feminine fancies? But we think it not more his folly, contradiction, and blaſphemy, to ſpeak with that contempt of the holy ſcriptures, and his pretended rule, than an advantage he gives our cauſe, to tell the world, 'That of all others, the Quakers ſpeak and preach 'the ſcripture-dialect.' But it is the mother-tongue of ſuch frothy minds ſo to profane; and for all their pretended reſpect to the holy ſcriptures, the ſpirit and life that belong unto them, are made but matter of jeer and mockery: they would not be thought to undervalue Chriſt, the ſcripture, nor his religion, but with the height of formality ſeem to reverence and applaud them all, yet perſecute to the death thoſe that are his holy offſpring by the ſpirit of regeneration; which ſhews their eſteem of Chriſt, ſcripture, and religion, to be but a kind of blindfold reſpect; and that indeed their very ſpirits turn within them againſt that which is truly Chriſt-like, ſcriptural, and religious. The devil ever underſtood his intereſt bet-

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ter, than to perſecute truth under that name; yet for all his fair pretences to ſaintſhip, he conſtantly became a fierce devourer of thoſe that have been the children of the truth: and I may truly ſay to this oppoſer, that for all his religion, learning, church-communion, and that ſtir he maketh againſt us, as a crew of hereticks and impoſtors, he knows not what ſpirit he is of, who has writ a book rather to abuſe than inform us, and inſtigate the civil magiſtrate to deſtroy us, than by ſolid argument to refute or reclaim us. He that has but half an eye may ſee his aim was not ſo much our converſion, as diſgrace, and, if poſſible, our utter ruin; but till our adverſary's labours prove as dangerous to us, as his deſign (no doubt) was wicked, we have little cauſe to dread the ſucceſs of his attempts.

And that he may ſee a little of himſelf, if he thinks himſelf worth looking upon, let him be pleaſed to take a view of ſome of thoſe many reviling, ſcoffing, rude, and contemptuous epithets he is pleaſed to beſtow on us, an entire body of people: 'Heretical ge-'neration of Quakers; ſlaves to pride, covetouſneſs, 'luſt; poſſeſſed by the devil, and a diabolical ſpirit; 'apoſtates, fanaticks, ſpiritualiſts; black, impure 'hearts and mouths; bewitched with their ſorceries 'and inchantments; impertinent cavilling fellows; re-'bellious Quakers; cheats, and mountebanks; a 'beaſtly and quaking generation; jugglers; quaking 'and impudent hereticks; a ſottiſh ſect; illuminado's; 'their cheats and impoſtures; enthuſiaſtical hereticks; 'a goatiſh herd.'[o]

And of our principles thus, *(d)* 'Their light leads 'to hell and the devil, and carries a man, like an *ignis*

[o] Epiſtle, p. 6, 7, 29, 32, 33, 35, 40, 41, 53, 77, 94, 206, 111, 117, 121, 110, 109.

(d) Biſhop Sanderſon highly honours and characterizes the *light*; he calls it, 'The Eternal Law of Righteouſneſs, and a rule ſufficient 'to Good Life.' See his book in Latin, entitled, *De Oblig. Jur. promiſſ.*

'*fatuus*,

'*fatuus*, cauſing him to fall into the pit of everlaſting 'deſtruction: who are led by this, are made obnoxious 'to all the impoſtures and injections of the devil, and 'to lie under everlaſting errors and deceits.'

To all which I have no other anſwer than what it is to itſelf; for it contains that charge againſt its author, that I ſhall leave him to clear himſelf from, both to God and the whole world; only I cannot be ſo wanting of civility to the perſon he dedicated his book to, as not to let him know, that it is unworthy of his quality and repute amongſt men, to have his name uſed to the protection of ſo much rudeneſs, irreligion, and abuſe.

I cannot think ſo meanly of him, as that the endeavours of ſo ſcurrilous an author ſhould excite him to any ſeverity againſt that poor people he has ſo baſely wronged: for ſuch a thing were not only beneath that place he holds amongſt men, but would be to entitle himſelf to all our adverſary's ſhameful miſcarriages, and encourage him to perſiſt in what it greatly behoves him to repent of, which God grant, for his mercy-ſake: which is my whole anſwer to his ill treatment of us, and the worſt wiſh I have for him.

A
CONCLUSION.

To thoſe to whom the diſcourſe is dedicated.

SINCE then it is ſo evidently proved, by ſcripture, reaſon, and undoubted precedents, that it is no new or unwonted thing, for national churches to be deceived, *(e)* notwithſtanding they have been endowed

(e) I intreat you to read a late piece of Dr. Cave's, called 'Primitive Chriſtianity,' in which the poverty, ſimplicity, meanneſs, manner, and place of worſhip, maintenance, miniſtry, objected novelty, &c. of the ancient Chriſtians, are related.

with power, learning, nobility, wealth, and worldly glory; and that it hath pleaſed Almighty God, in the moſt ſignal reformations that have been wrought upon the world, to employ a ſort of plain, ſimple, and illiterate people; let not our meanneſs, plainneſs, and ſimplicity, be any argument with you againſt us, in the mouths of that decimating tribe, whoſe trade it is to oppoſe that reformation, which, in conſcience, can neither own nor pay them; the old enemies of God's appearance in the world, who therefore dread a free and univerſal preaching, becauſe the engroſſment of it to themſelves has proved ſo profitable. Be Gamaliels at leaſt, I beſeech you, and fight not their battles: "If we are *not* of God, we cannot ſtand:" and if of God, "they muſt fall." Leave us therefore with our ſpiritual weapons to decide this controverſy, without interpoſing your worldly power. It is ſtrange that we ſhould be ſuch *ignorants*, and *hereticks* too, whilſt they bleſs themſelves with the name of *learned* and *orthodox*, and yet dread the conſequence of being left by you to a *fair field* with us. Are not their univerſities, biſhops, and doctors, enough to ſilence ſuch *illiterate whifflers*, as our adverſary is pleaſed to call us, without the argument of your carnal ſword? Certainly they ill deſerve fifteen hundred thouſand pounds a year, if at laſt *you* muſt do the buſineſs for them: what leſs can we expect from the worſt of perſons and cauſes? But as this employment is below the dignity of their office, who are publick magiſtrates, and much too narrow for that univerſal influence it ſhould have for publick good, ſo remember that great ſaying of the late king, to the then prince of Wales;

'Always keep up ſolid piety, and thoſe fundamental 'truths which mend both hearts and lives of men, 'with impartial favour and juſtice. Your prerogative 'is beſt ſhewn and exerciſed in remitting, rather than 'exacting the rigour of laws, there being nothing 'worſe than legal tyranny.' Again, 'A charitable 'connivance, and Chriſtian toleration often diſſi-'pates what rougher oppoſition fortifies;' which had

had been the ſaying and counſel of king James before him. It is a ſure rule in divinity, 'That God never 'loves to plant his church by violence and bloodſhed.' And in his expoſitions on Rev. xx. he ſaith, 'That 'perſecution is the note of a falſe church.'

'Hereſy muſt be cut off with the ſword of the 'Spirit,' ſaith Jerom. 'The church doth not perſe-'cute, but is perſecuted,' ſaith Hilary. 'If you will, 'with blood, with evil, and with torments defend 'your worſhip, it ſhall not thereby be defended, but 'polluted,' ſaid Lactantius. I will conclude with Chryſoſtom; 'It is not,' ſaith he, 'the manner of the 'children of God to perſecute about their religion, 'but an evident token of Antichriſt.[p]'

So let your moderation be known unto all men. The Lord is at hand.

I am

A friend to all men,

Who would have vice *puniſhed*, conſcience *tolerated*, and righteouſneſs *eſtabliſhed*, whoſe end is peace and aſſurance for ever.

W. PENN.

The 16th of the 5th month, 1673.

[p] Jer. Proœm. lib. 4. Hilar. contr. Auxent. Lact. lib. 5. cap. 10. Relig. Uriſ. pag. 192.

ENGLAND's

PRESENT INTEREST

CONSIDERED,

WITH

HONOUR to the PRINCE,

AND

SAFETY to the PEOPLE,

In Answer to this One Question,

What is moſt fit, eaſy, and ſafe, at this Juncture of Affairs, to be done, for quieting of Differences, allaying the Heat of contrary Intereſts, and making them ſubſervient to the Intereſt of the Government, and conſiſtent with the Proſperity of the Kingdom?

Submitted to the Conſideration of our Superiors.

Lex eſt Ratio ſine Appetitu.

Publiſhed in the Year 1675.

THE

INTRODUCTION.

THERE is no law under heaven, which hath its riſe from nature or grace, that forbids men to deal honeſtly and plainly with the greateſt, in matters of importance to their preſent and future good: on the contrary, the dictates of both enjoin every man that office to his neighbour; and from charity among private perſons, it becomes a duty indiſpenſable to the publick. Nor do worthy minds think ever the leſs kindly of honeſt and humble monitors; and God knows, that oftentimes princes are deceived, and kingdoms languiſh, for want of them. How far the poſture of our affairs will juſtify this addreſs, I ſhall ſubmit to the judgment and obſervation of every intelligent reader.

Certain it is, that there are few kingdoms in the world more divided within themſelves, and whoſe religious intereſts lie more ſeemingly croſs to all accommodation, than that we live in; which renders the magiſtrate's taſk hard, and giveth him a difficulty next to invincible.

Your endeavours for an uniformity have been many; your acts not a few to enforce it; but the conſequence, whether you intended it or no, through the barbarous practices of thoſe that have had their execution, hath been the ſpoiling of ſeveral thouſands of the free-born people of this kingdom, of their unforfeited rights. Perſons have been flung into gaols, gates and trunks broke open, goods diſtrained, till a ſtool hath not been left to ſit down on: flocks of cattle driven off, whole barns full of corn ſeized, threſhed, and carried away:

parents left without their children, children without their parents, both without ſubſiſtence.

But that which aggravates the cruelty, is, *the widow's mite* hath not eſcaped their hands; they have made her 'cow the forfeiture of her *conſcience*;' not leaving her a bed to lie on, nor a blanket to cover her. And, which is yet more barbarous, and helps to make up this tragedy, 'the poor helpleſs orphan's 'milk, boiling over the fire, has been flung to the 'dogs, and the *ſkillet* made part of their prize:' ſo that had not nature in neighbours been ſtronger than cruelty in ſuch informers and officers, to open her bowels for their relief and ſubſiſtence, they muſt have utterly periſhed.

Nor can theſe inhuman inſtruments plead conſcience or duty to thoſe laws, who have abundantly tranſcended the ſevereſt clauſe in them; for 'to ſee the impriſoned,' has been ſuſpicion enough for a gaol; and 'to viſit 'the ſick,' to make a conventicle: fining and diſtraining for preaching, and being at a meeting, where there hath been neither; and *forty pounds* for *twenty*, at pick and chooſe too, is a moderate advance with ſome of them.

Others, thinking this way too dull and troubleſome, alter the queſtion, and turn, 'Have you *met?*' which the act intends, to, 'Will you *ſwear?*' which it intendeth not: ſo that in ſome places it hath been ſufficient to a *præmunire*, that men have had eſtates to loſe; I mean ſuch men, who, through tenderneſs, refuſe the oath; but, by principle, like the allegiance, not leſs than their adverſaries.

Finding then by ſad experience, and a long tract of time, that the very remedies applied to cure diſſention, increaſe it; and that the more vigorouſly an uniformity is coercively proſecuted, the wider breaches grow, the more inflamed perſons are, and fixed in their reſolutions to ſtand by their principles, it ſhould, methinks, put an end to the attempt: for beſides all other inconveniences to thoſe that give them trouble, their very ſufferings beget that compaſſion in the multitude, which

which rarely miſſes of making many friends, and proves often a preparation for not a few proſelytes. So much more reverend is ſuffering, than making men ſuffer for religion, even of thoſe that cannot ſuffer for their religion, if yet they have any religion to ſuffer for. Hiſtories are full of examples: the *perſecution* of the Chriſtian religion made it more illuſtrious than its *doctrine*. Perhaps it will be denied to Engliſh Diſſenters, that they rely upon ſo good a cauſe, and therefore a vanity in them to expect that ſucceſs. But *Arrianiſm* itſelf, once reputed the fouleſt hereſy by the church, was by no artifice of its party ſo diſſeminated, as the ſevere oppoſition of the *Homoouſians*.

Conteſts naturally draw company; and the vulgar are juſtified in their curioſity, if not pity, when they ſee ſo many wiſer men buſy themſelves to ſuppreſs a people, by whom they ſee no other ill, than that, for nonconformity in matters of religion, they bear injuries and indignities patiently.

To be ſhort: If all the interruptions, informations, fines, plunders, impriſonments, exiles and blood, which the great enemy of nature, as well as grace, hath excited man to, in all ages, about matters of faith and worſhip, from Cain and Abel's time to ours, could furniſh us with ſufficient precedents that the deſign propoſed by the inflictors of ſo much ſeverity was ever anſwered; that they have ſmothered opinions, and not inflamed, but extinguiſhed conteſt; it might perhaps, at leaſt prudentially, give check to our expectations, and allay my juſt confidence in this addreſs: but ſince ſuch attempts have ever been found unproſperous, as well as that they are too coſtly, and have always procured the 'judgments of God, and the hatred of 'men; to the ſufferers miſery; to their countries, 'decay of people and trade; and to their own con-'ſciences an extreme guilt;' I fall to the queſtion, and then the ſolution of it: in which, as I declare, I intend nothing that ſhould in the leaſt abate of that love, honour, and ſervice that are due to you; ſo, I beſeech you, do me the juſtice to make the faireſt interpretation

tion of my expreſſions: for the whole of my plain and honeſt deſign is, 'To offer my mite for the increaſe 'of your true honour, and my dear country's felicity.'

THE QUESTION.

'WHAT is moſt fit, eaſy, and ſafe, at this juncture of affairs, to be done, for compoſing, 'at leaſt quieting, differences; for allaying the heat 'of contrary intereſts, and making them ſubſervient 'to the intereſt of the government, and conſiſtent with 'the proſperity of the kingdom?'

THE ANSWER.

I. AN inviolable and impartial maintenance of Engliſh rights.

II. Our ſuperiors governing themſelves upon a balance, as near as may be, towards the ſeveral religious intereſts.

III. A ſincere promotion of general and practical religion.

I ſhall briefly diſcourſe upon theſe three things, and endeavour to prove them a ſufficient, if not the only beſt anſwer that can be given to the queſtion propounded.

ENGLAND's PRESENT INTEREST CONSIDERED.

CHAP I.

Of ENGLISH RIGHTS.

I. Of *Engliſh* rights, in the *Britiſh*, *Saxon*, and *Norman* times. Particularly of *liberty* and *property*. Of *legiſlation*. Of *juries*. That they are *fundamental* to the government, and but *repeated* and *confirmed* by the *Great Charter*. The *reverence* paid them by *kings and parliaments, and their care to preſerve them*. The *curſe* and *puniſhment* that attended the *violators*. More general conſideration of *property*, &c. The *uncertainty* and *ruin of intereſts*, where it is not maintained: divers precedents: that it is the prince's intereſt to preſerve it inviolably: that it is not juſtly *forfeitable for eccleſiaſtical non-conformity*; and that where the *property* is ſacrificed for it, the *government* is changed from *civil* to *eccleſiaſtical*, from the *parliament houſe* to the *veſtry*.

THERE is no government in the world, but it muſt either ſtand upon *will* and *power*, or *condition* and *contract*: the one rules by men, the other by laws. And above all kingdoms under heaven, it is England's felicity to have her conſtitution ſo impartially juſt and free, that there cannot well be any thing more remote from arbitrarineſs, or more zealous of preſerving the laws, by which its rights are maintained.

Theſe laws are either fundamental, and ſo immutable; or more ſuperficial and temporary, and conſequently alterable.

By

By *ſuperficial laws*, we underſtand ſuch acts, laws, or ſtatutes, as are ſuited to preſent occurrences, and emergencies of ſtate; and which may as well be abrogated, as they were firſt made, for the good of the kingdom: for inſtance, thoſe ſtatutes that relate to victuals, clothes, times and places of trade, &c. which have ever ſtood, whilſt the reaſon of them was in force; but when that benefit, which did once redound, fell by freſh accidents, they ended, according to that old maxim, *Ceſſante ratione legis, ceſſat lex.*

By *fundamental laws*, I do not only underſtand ſuch as immediately ſpring from *ſyntereſis* (that eternal principle of truth and ſapience, more or leſs diſſeminated through mankind,) which are as the corner-ſtones of human ſtructure, the baſis of reaſonable ſocieties, without which all would run into heaps and confuſion; to wit, *Honeſtè vivere, alterum non lædere, jus ſuum cuiq; tribuere*, that is, 'To live honeſtly, not to hurt another, and to give every one their right,' (excellent principles, and common to all nations) though that itſelf were ſufficient to our preſent purpoſe; but thoſe rights and privileges which I call *Engliſh*, and which are the proper birth-right of Engliſhmen, and may be reduced to theſe three.

I. An ownerſhip, and undiſturbed poſſeſſion: that what they have is rightly theirs, and no body's elſe.

II. A voting of every law that is made, whereby that ownerſhip or propriety may be maintained.

III. An influence upon, and a real ſhare in, that judicatory power that muſt apply every ſuch law; which is the ancient, neceſſary and laudable uſe of juries: if not found among the *Britons*, to be ſure practiſed by the *Saxons*, and continued through the *Normans* to this very day.

That theſe have been the ancient and undoubted rights of Engliſhmen, as three great roots, under whoſe ſpacious branches the Engliſh People have been wont to ſhelter

ſhelter themſelves againſt the ſtorms of arbitrary government, I ſhall endeavour to prove.

I. An ownerſhip and undiſturbed poſſeſſion.

This relates both to title and ſecurity of *eſtate*, and liberty of *perſon*, from the violence of arbitrary power.

It is true, the footſteps of the *Britiſh* government are very much overgrown by time. There is ſcarcely any thing remarkable left us, but what we are beholden to ſtrangers for: either their own unſkilfulneſs in letters, or their depopulations and conqueſts by invaders, have deprived the world of a particular ſtory of their laws and cuſtoms, in peace or war. However, Cæſar, Tacitus, and eſpecially Dion, ſay enough to prove their nature and their government to be as far from ſlaviſh, as their breeding and manners were remote from the education and greater ſkill of the Romans.[a] Beda and M. Weſtminſter ſay as much.[b]

The law of *property* they obſerved, and made thoſe laws that concerned the preſervation of it.

The *Saxons* brought no alteration to theſe two fundamentals of our Engliſh government; for they were a *free people*, governed by laws, of which they themſelves were the makers: that is, there was no law made without the conſent of the people; *de majoribus omnes*, as Tacitus obſerveth of the *Germans* in general.[c] They loſt nothing by tranſporting themſelves hither; and doubtleſs found a greater conſiſtency between their laws, than their ambition. For the learned collector of the 'Britiſh Councils,[d]' tells us, that Ethelſtan, the Saxon king, pleading with the people, told them, 'Seeing I, according to your law, allow what is 'yours, do ye ſo with me.' Whence three things are obſervable. Firſt, that ſomething was *theirs*, that nobody elſe could diſpoſe of. Secondly, that they had *property* by their own law; therefore had a *ſhare* in

[a] Cæſar's Com. Tacit. in Vit. Agrip. Dion. l. 6. [b] M. Weſt. Anno 416. l. 1. c. 17. [c] Hiſt. Germ. [d] Concil. Brit. p. 397.

making

making their own laws. Thirdly, that the law was *umpire* between king and people; neither of them ought to infringe; this, Ina, the great Saxon king, confirms. 'There is no great man,' ſaith he, 'nor any in the 'whole kingdom, that may aboliſh written laws.[e]' It was alſo a great part of the Saxon oath adminiſtered to the kings, at their entrance upon the government, 'To maintain and rule according to the laws 'of the nation.[f]'

Their parliament they called *micklemote*, or *wittangemote*. It conſiſted of *king*, *lords*, and *people*, before the *clergy* interwove themſelves with the civil government. And Andrew Horn, in his 'Mirror of Juſtice,' tells us, 'That the grand aſſembly of the kingdom in the 'Saxon time, was to confer of the government of 'God's people, how they might be kept from *ſin*, in '*quiet*, and have *right* done them, according to the 'cuſtoms and laws.[g]'

Nor did this law end with the *Saxon* race: William the Conqueror, as he is uſually called, quitting all *claim* by *conqueſt*, gladly ſtooped to the laws obſerved by the Saxon kings, and ſo became a king by leave; valuing a title by *election*, before that which is founded in *power* only. He therefore, at his coronation, made a ſolemn covenant, 'To maintain the good, approved, 'and ancient laws of this kingdom, and to inhibit 'all ſpoil and unjuſt government.[h]'

And this Henry the Firſt, his third ſon, among other his titles, mentioned in his charter to make Ely a biſhoprick, calls himſelf, 'Son of William the *Great*, 'who by hereditary right (not *conqueſt*) ſucceeded king Edward (called the Confeſſor) in this kingdom.[i]'

An ancient chronicle of Litchfield ſpeaks of a council of lords that adviſed William of Normandy, 'To 'call together all the nobles and wiſe men throughout 'their counties of England, that they might ſet down 'their own laws and cuſtoms;' which was about the

[e] Ll. Inæ. Lamb. [f] Mirror. c. 1. §. 2. [g] Ibid. c. 1. §. 2. 3. Juſt. c. 4. §. 11. [h] M. Paris in vit. Gulielm. [i] Spicileg.

fourth

fourth year of his reign: which implies that they had fundamental laws, and that he intended their confirmation.

And one of the firſt laws made by this king, which, as a notable author ſaith, 'may be called the firſt magna charta in the *Norman* times, (by which he reſerved to himſelf nothing of the freemen of this kingdom, but their free-ſervice) in the concluſion of it, ſaith, 'That the lands of the inhabitants of this kingdom were granted to them in inheritance of the king, 'and by the common council of the whole kingdom:[k]' which law doth alſo provide, 'That they 'ſhall hold their lands and tenements well or quietly, 'and in peace, from all unjuſt tax and tillage:' which is farther expounded in the laws of Henry the Firſt, chap. 4. 'That no tribute or tax ſhould be taken, but 'what was due in Edward the Confeſſor's time.' So that the *Norman* kings claim no other right in the lands and poſſeſſions of any of their ſubjects, than according to *Engliſh* law and right.

And ſo tender were they of *property* in thoſe times, that when *juſtice* itſelf became importunate in a caſe, no diſtreſs could iſſue without publick warrant obtained: nor that neither, but upon three complaints firſt made. Nay, when *rape* and *plunder* were rife, and men ſeemed to have no more right to their own than they had power to maintain, even then was this law a ſufficient ſanctuary to the oppreſſed, by being publickly pleaded at the bar againſt all *uſurpation*; though it were under the pretence of their conqueror's right itſelf; as by the caſe of Edwin of Sharnbourn, in 'Camden's Britannia,' plainly appears.

The like obligation to maintain this fundamental law of *property*, with the appendant rights of the people, was taken by William Rufus, Henry the Firſt, Stephen, Henry the Second, Richard the Firſt, John, and Henry the Third: which brings me to that famous law called *Magna Charta*, or 'The Great Charter of

[k] Ll. Gulielm. 55.

'England,'

'England,' of which more anon; it being my deſign to ſhew, that nothing of the eſſential rights of Engliſhmen was thereby, *de novo*, granted, as in civility to king Henry the Third it is termed; but that they were therein only repeated and confirmed. Wherefore I ſhall return to antecedent times, to fetch down the remaining rights.

The ſecond part of this firſt fundamental is, *liberty of perſon*. The Saxons were ſo tender in the point of impriſonment, that there was little or no uſe made of it: nor would they ſo puniſh their bond-men; *vinculis coercere rarum eſt*.

In caſe of debt or damage, the recovery thereof was either by a delivery of the juſt value in goods; or, upon the ſheriff's ſale of the goods, in money; and if that ſatisfied not, the land was extended: and when all was gone, they were accuſtomed to make their laſt ſeizure upon the party's arms, and then he was reputed an undone man, and caſt upon the charity of his friends for ſubſiſtence: but his perſon was never impriſoned for the debt: no, not in the king's caſe.[l] And to the honour of king Alfred be it ſpoken, 'He 'impriſoned one of his judges for impriſoning a man 'in that caſe.'

We find among his laws this paſſage, *Qui immerentem paganum vinculis conſtrinxerit, decem ſolidis noxam ſarcito*: 'That if a man ſhould impriſon his vaſſal or bond-'man unjuſtly, his purgation of that offence ſhould 'not be leſs than the payment of ten ſhillings:[m]' a ſum very conſiderable in thoſe days, more than ten pounds now.

Nor did the revolution from *Saxon* to *Norman* drop this privilege: for beſides the general confirmation of former rights by William, ſurnamed the Conqueror, his ſon Henry the Firſt particularly took ſuch care of continuing *this part of property* inviolable, that, in his time, no perſon was to be impriſoned for committing of mortal crime itſelf, unleſs he were firſt attainted by

[l] Ll. Edw. [m] Ll. Alfr. cap. 1. and 31.

the

the verdict of twelve men; that is, a jury, which was to be of the neighbourhood.[n]

Thus much for the firſt of my three fundamentals, *right of eſtate*, and *liberty of perſon:* that is to ſay, I am no man's bond-man, and what I poſſeſs is *abſolutely mine own.*

II. A voting of every law that is made, whereby that ownerſhip or property may be maintained.

This ſecond fundamental of our Engliſh government, was no incroachment upon the kings of more modern ages, but extant long before the *great charter* made in the reign of Hen. III. even as early as the *Britons* themſelves; and that it continued to the time of Hen. III. is evident from ſeveral inſtances.

Cæſar, in his Commentaries, tells us, 'That it was 'the cuſtom of the Britiſh cities to elect their general 'or commander in chief, in caſe of war.[o]' Dion aſſures us, in the life of Severus the emperor, 'That in 'Britain the people held a ſhare in power and govern-'ment;' which is the modeſteſt conſtruction his words will bear. And Tacitus, in the life of Agrippa, ſays, 'They had a common council; and that one great 'reaſon of their overthrow by the Romans, was, their 'not *conſulting with*, and *relying upon*, their *common* 'council.[p]' Again, both Beda and Mat. Weſtminſter tell us, 'That the *Britons* ſummoned a ſynod, choſe 'their moderator, and expelled the Pelagian creed.' All which ſuppoſes popular aſſemblies, with power to order national affairs.

And indeed, the learned author of the 'Britiſh 'councils' gives ſome hints to this purpoſe, 'That 'they had a common council, and called it *kyfr-ythen.*'

The *Saxons* were not inferior to the *Britons* in this point; and ſtory furniſheth us with more and plainer proofs. They brought this liberty along with them,

[n] Ll. Gulielm. cap. 42, 49, 55. Ll. Hen. 1. cap. 5. [o] Lib. 5, 6. [p] Cap. 12.

and it was not likely they ſhould loſe it, by tranſporting themſelves into a country where they alſo found it. Tacitus reports it to have been generally the *German* liberty; like unto the *concio* of the Athenians and Lacedæmonians.

They called their freemen *Frilingi*; and theſe had votes in the making and executing the general laws of the kingdom.

In Ethelbert's time, after the monk Auſtin's inſinuations had made his followers a part of the government, the *commune concilium* was *tam cleri quam populi*, 'as well 'clergy as people.[q]' In Ina's time, *ſuaſu & inſtituto epiſcoporum, omnium ſenatorum & natu majorum ſapientum populi*; 'biſhops, lords, and wiſe men of the people.' Alfred after him reformed the former laws, *conſulto ſapientem*, 'by the advice of the ſages of the king-'dom.' Likewiſe matters of publick and general charge, in caſe of war, &c. we have granted in the aſſembly, *rege, baronibus, & populo*; 'by the king, 'barons, and people.' And though the *Saxon* word properly imports 'the meeting of wiſe men,' yet *all* that would come might be preſent, and interpoſe their like or diſlike of the preſent propoſition: as that of Ina, *in magnâ ſervorum Dei frequentiâ*. Again, *Commune concilium ſeniorum & populorum totius regni*; 'the com-'mon council of the elders or nobles, and people of 'the whole kingdom.[r]' The council of Winton, ann. 855. is ſaid to be in the preſence of the great men, *aliorumq; fidelium infinitâ multitudine*; 'and an infi-'nite multitude of other faithful people;' which was nigh four hundred years before the *great charter* was made.

My laſt inſtance of the Saxon ages ſhall be out of the *Gloſſary* of the learned Engliſh knight, H. Spelman: 'The Saxon *wittangemote*, or parliament,' ſaith he, 'is a convention of the *princes*, as well *biſhops* as 'magiſtrates, and the *free people* of the kingdom:[s]' and

[q] Concil. Brit. 162. Ll. Sax. Lam. [r] Ll. Sax. Lam. p. 1. Concil. Brit, 19. Ingulph. [s] Spelm. Gloſſ. tit. Gemote, f. 261.

that

that the ſaid *wittangemote* conſulted of the common ſafety in peace and war, and for the promotion of the common good.

William of Normandy choſe rather to rely upon the people's *conſent*, than his own *power* to obtain the kingdom. He ſwore to them to maintain their *old laws* and *privileges*; they to him *obedience*, for his ſo governing of them: for, as a certain author hath it, 'He 'bound himſelf to be *juſt*, that he might be *great*; and 'the people to ſubmit to *juſtice*, that they might be '*free*.'[t] In his laws, c. 55. 'We, by the common 'council of the whole kingdom, have granted the 'people's lands to them in inheritance, according to 'their ancient laws.'

Matters of general expence upon the whole body of the people were ſettled by this great council, eſpecially in the *charge of arms* impoſed upon the ſubject. The law ſaith it to have been done by the *commune concilium* of the *kingdom*.[u]

So W. Rufus and Henry the Firſt were received by the *common conſent* of the *people*. And Stephen's words were, *Ego* Stephanus, *Dei gratia, aſſenſu cleri & populi in regno Angliæ electus, &c.* 'I Stephen, by the 'grace of God, and conſent of the clergy and people, 'choſen king of England,' &c. So king John was choſen, *tam cleri quam populi unanimi conſenſu & favore*; 'by the favour and unanimous *conſent* of the 'clergy and people:' and his queen is ſaid to have been crowned *de communi conſenſu & concordi voluntate archiepiſcoporum, comitum, baronum, cleri & populi totius regni*, i. e. 'by the common aſſent and unanimous 'good will of the archbiſhops, biſhops, counts, ba-'rons, clergy, and people of the whole kingdom.'[x] King Edw. I. alſo deſired money of the *commune conci-*

[t] Ll. Gulielm. c. 55. [u] Ibid. c. 58. Spicileg. W. Malmſ. C. Hiſt. p. 101. [x] Cart. moder. fœder. mag. ſigil. Anno 1. Joh. ex Vet. Reg. in Arch. Cantuar. Archiepiſcop. Rot. Cart. Ann. 5 Joh. Memb. 5. n. 29.

lium, or parliament, 'As you have given in my time, 'and that of my progenitors, kings, &c.

All which ſhews, that it was *antecedent* to the great charter; not the rights therein *repeated* and *confirmed*, but the *act itſelf*.

And king John's reſignation of the crown to the pope, being queſtioned upon ſome occaſion in Edward III.'s time, it was agreed upon, 'That he had no 'power to do it, without the conſent of the dukes, 'prelates, barons, and commons.[y]'

And, as paradoxical as any may pleaſe to think it, it is the great intereſt of a prince, that the people ſhould have a *ſhare* in the making of their own laws: where it is otherwiſe, they are no kings of free-men, but ſlaves, and thoſe their enemies for making them ſo. *Leges nullâ aliâ cauſâ nos tenent, quam quod judicio populi receptæ ſunt*; 'The laws,' ſaith Ulpian, 'do 'therefore *oblige* the people, becauſe they are allowed 'of by their *judgment*.' And Gratian, in Dec. Diſtinct. 4. *Tum demum humanæ leges habent vim ſuam, cum fuerint non modo inſtitutæ, ſed etiam firmatæ approbatione communitatis:*' 'It is then,' ſaith he, 'that human laws 'have their due force, when they ſhall not only be 'deviſed, but confirmed by the approbation of the 'people.'

1. It makes men diligent, and increaſeth trade, which advances the revenue: for where men are not free, they will never ſeek to improve, becauſe they are not ſure of what they have, and leſs of what they get.

2. It frees the prince from the jealouſy and hate of his people; and conſequently, the troubles and danger that follow; and makes his province eaſy and ſafe.

3. If any inconvenience attends the execution of any law, the prince is not to be blamed: it is their own fault that made it.

I ſhall now proceed to the third fundamental, and by plain evidence prove it to have been a material

[y] Rot. Par. 40. Ed. 3. n. 78.

part

part of the government before the great charter was enacted.

III. The people have an influence upon, and a great ſhare in, the judicatory power.

That it was a *Britiſh* cuſtom, I will not affirm, but have ſome reaſon to ſuppoſe: for if the *Saxons* had brought it with them, they would alſo have left it behind them, and in all likelihood there would have been ſome footſteps in *Saxony* of ſuch a law or cuſtom, which we find not. I will not enter the liſts with any about this: this ſhall ſuffice me, that we find it early among the *Saxons* in this country; and if they, a free people in their own country, ſettling themſelves here as a new planted colony, did ſupply what was defective in their own government, or add ſome new freedom to themſelves, as all planters are wont to do, which are thoſe firſt and corner-ſtones, their poſterity, with all care and ſkill, are to build upon, *that* itſelf will ſerve my turn to prove it a *fundamental:* that is, ſuch a firſt principle in our Engliſh government, by the agreement of the people, as ought not to be violated. I would not be underſtood of the number, but of the way of trial: 'I mean, 'That men were not 'to be condemned, but by the votes of the freemen.'

N. Bacon thinks that in ruder times the multitude tried all among themſelves; and fancies it came from the *Grecians*, who determined controverſies by the ſuffrage of 34, or the major part of them.

Be it as it will, *juries* the *Saxons* had; for in the laws of king Etheldred, about three hundred years before the entrance of the Norman duke, we find enacted, *In ſingulis centuriis*, &c. thus engliſhed, 'In 'every hundred let there be a court, and let twelve 'ancient freemen, together with the lord of the hun-'dred, be ſworn, that they will not condemn the in-'nocent, or acquit the guilty.'[z] And ſo ſtrict were

[z] Ll. Sax. Lam. Ann. 675.

they of thoſe ages, in obſerving this fundamental way of judicature, that Alfred put one of his judges to death, for paſſing ſentence upon a verdict (corruptly obtained) upon the votes of the jurors, *three* of *twelve* being in the negative. If the *number* was ſo ſacred, what was the *conſtitution itſelf?*

The very ſame king executed another of his judges, for paſſing ſentence of death upon an *ignoramus* returned by the jury; and a third, for condemning a man upon an inqueſt taken *ex officio*, when-as the delinquent had not put himſelf upon their trial. More of his juſtice might be mentioned even in this very caſe.

There was alſo a law made in the time of Etheldred, when the *Britons* and *Saxons* began to grow tame to each other, and intercommon amicably, that ſaith, 'Let there be twelve men of underſtanding, &c. ſix 'of *Engliſh*, and ſix *Welſh*, and let them deal juſtice, both 'to *Engliſh* and *Welſh*.'[a]

Alſo in thoſe ſimple times, if a crime extended but to ſome *ſhameful puniſhment*, as *pillory* or *whipping* (the laſt whereof, as uſual as it has been with us, was inflicted only upon their bondmen) the penance might be reduced to a *ranſom*, according to the nature of the fault; but it muſt be aſſeſſed in the preſence of the judge, and by the *twelve*, that is, the jury of *Frilingi*, or freemen.

Hitherto ſtories tell us of *trials by juries*, and thoſe to have conſiſted, in general terms, of *freemen:* but *per pares*, or by *equals*, came after, occaſioned by the conſiderable *Saxons* neglecting that ſervice, and leaving it to the *inferior* people, who loſt the bench, *their ancient right*, becauſe they were not thought company for a judge or ſheriff: and alſo from the growing pride of the *Danes*, who ſlighted ſuch a *rural judicature*, and deſpiſed the fellowſhip of the mean *Saxon freemen* in publick ſervice. The wiſe *Saxon* king perceiving this, and the dangerous conſequence of ſubmitting the *lives* and *liberties* of the *inferior* (but not leſs *uſeful* people)

[a] Ll. Etheld, cap. 3. Lamb. Ll. Inæ. Ll. Canut.

to

to the dictates of any ſuch *haughty humour*; and, on the other hand, of ſubjecting the *nobler ſort* to the ſuffrage of the *inferior rank*, did, with the advice of his *wittangemote*, or *parliament*, provide a third way, more equal and grateful, and by agreement with Gunthurn, the *Dane*, ſettled the *law of peers*, or *equals*; which is the *envy of nations*, but the *famous privilege* of our *Engliſh people:* one of thoſe three pillars the fabrick of this ancient and free government ſtands upon.

This benefit gets ſtrength by time, and is received by the Norman duke and his ſucceſſors; and not only confirmed in the lump of other privileges, but in one notable caſe for all; which might be brought to prove, that the fundamental privileges, mentioned in the great charter, 9 of Hen. 3. were *before it*. The ſtory is more at large delivered by our learned Selden: but thus, 'William having given his half brother Odo a 'large territory in Kent, with the earldom, and he 'taking advantage at the king's being diſpleaſed with 'the archbiſhop of Canterbury, to poſſeſs himſelf of 'ſome of the lands of that ſee, Lanfrank, that ſuc-'ceeded the archbiſhop, informed hereof, petitioned 'the king for juſtice, *ſecundum legem terræ*, according 'to the law of the land: upon which the king ſum-'moned a *county court*, where the debate laſted three 'days, before the *freemen* of *Kent*, in the preſence of 'lords and *biſhops*, and others ſkilful in the law, and 'the judgment paſſed for the archbiſhop, *upon the votes 'of the freemen.*'[b]

By all which it is, I hope, ſufficiently and inoffenſively manifeſted, that theſe three principles, viz.

1. That *Engliſh* men have the alone right of poſſeſſion and diſpoſition of what is theirs;
2. That they are parties to the laws of their country, for the maintenance thereof;
3. That they have an influence upon, and a real ſhare in, the judicatory power, that applies thoſe laws;

[b] Spicileg. 197.

have been the *ancient rights* of the kingdom, and common *baſis* of the government; that which kings, under all revolutions, have ſworn to maintain, and hiſtory affords us ſo many precedents to confirm. So that the *great charter*, made in the 9th of Hen. 3. was not the *nativity*, but *reſtoration*, of ancient privileges from abuſes; no grant of *new rights*, but a *new* grant, or *confirmation* rather, of *ancient laws* and *liberties*, violated by king John, and reſtored by his ſucceſſor, at the expence of a long and bloody war; which ſhewed them as reſolute to keep, as their anceſtors had been careful to make, thoſe excellent laws.

And ſo I am come to the *great charter*, which is comprehenſive of what I have already been diſcourſing, and which I ſhall briefly touch upon, with thoſe ſucceſſive *ſtatutes* that have been made in honour and preſervation of it.

I ſhall rehearſe ſo much of it as falls within the conſideration of the foregoing matter, (which is a great deal in a little) with ſomething of the formality of *grant* and *curſe*; that this age may ſee with what reverence and circumſpection our anceſtors governed themſelves in confirming and preſerving of it.

'Henry, by the grace of God, king of England, &c. 'To all archbiſhops, earls, barons, ſheriffs, provoſts, 'officers, unto all bailiffs, and our faithful ſubjects, 'who ſhall ſee this preſent charter, greeting: Know 'ye, that unto the honour of Almighty God, and for 'the ſalvation of the ſouls of our progenitors, and 'our ſucceſſors, kings of England, to the advance-'ment of holy church, and amendment of our realm, 'of our *mere and free will* have given and granted to 'all archbiſhops, &c. and to all *freemen* of this our 'realm, theſe liberties underwritten, to be holden and 'kept in this our realm of England for evermore.'[c]

Though in honour to the king, it is ſaid to be out of his *mere and free will*, as if it were his mere favour,

[c] 9 Hen. 3.

yet

yet the qualification of the perſons he is ſaid to grant the enſuing liberties to, ſhews, that they are terms of formality, viz. *to all freemen of this realm.* Which ſuppoſes there were *freemen* before this grant; and that character alſo implies they muſt have had *laws* and *liberties:* conſequently, this was not an infranchiſing of them, but a *confirming* to freemen their juſt privileges they had before. The words of the charter are theſe:

'A *freeman* ſhall not be *amerced* for a ſmall fault, 'but *after the quantity of the fault*; and for a great 'fault, after the manner thereof, ſaving to him his '*contenements or freehold:* and a *merchant* likewiſe ſhall 'be amerced, ſaving to him his merchandize; and 'none of the ſaid amercements ſhall be aſſeſſed, but 'by the oath of good and honeſt men of the vicinage.[d]'

'No freeman ſhall be taken or *impriſoned*, nor be '*diſſeiſed of his freehold* or *liberties*, or *free cuſtoms*; or 'be outlawed or exiled, or any other ways deſtroyed; 'nor we ſhall not paſs upon him, nor condemn him, 'but by *lawful judgment of his peers*, or *by the law of* 'the land. We ſhall ſell to no man, we ſhall deny or 'defer to no man, either juſtice or right.[e]'

I ſtand amazed, how any man can have the confidence to ſay, 'Theſe privileges were extorted by the 'baron's wars,' when the king declares, that what he did herein, was done *freely:* or that they were new privileges, when the very tenor of the word proves the contrary: for *freehold*, *liberties*, or *free cuſtoms*, are by the charter itſelf ſuppoſed to be in the poſſeſſion of the freemen at the making and publiſhing thereof. For obſerve, *no freeman ſhall be taken or impriſoned:* then he was free: this liberty is his right. Again, *no freeman ſhall be diſſeiſed of his freehold, liberties, or free cuſtoms*; then certainly he was in poſſeſſion of them: and that great doctor in the laws of England, chief juſtice Coke, in his proem to the ſecond part of his *Inſtitutes*, tells us, 'that theſe laws and liberties were gathered

[d] Cap. 14. [e] Cap. 29.

'and

'and obſerved amongſt others, in an entire volume, 'by king Edward the Confeſſor; confirmed by Wil-'liam, ſurnamed the Conqueror; which were after-'wards ratified by Henry the Firſt; enlarged by Henry 'the Second, in his conſtitutions at Clarendon; and 'after much conteſt, and blood ſpilt, between king 'John and the barons concerning them, were ſolemnly 'eſtabliſhed at Running-Mead by Staines: and laſtly, 'brought to their former ſtation, and publiſhed by 'this king Henry the Third, in the 9th year of his 'reign.'

And though evil counſellors would have provoked him to void his father's act and his own, as if the firſt had been the effect of *force*, the other of *non-age*; yet it ſo pleaſed Almighty God, who hath ever been propitious to this ungrateful iſland, that in the 20th year of his reign, he did confirm and complete this charter, for a perpetual eſtabliſhment of liberty to all *free-born Engliſhmen*, and their heirs for ever: ordaining, *Quod contravenientes per dominum regem, cum convicti fuerint, graviter puniantur*, i. e. 'That whoſoever ſhould 'act any thing contrary to theſe laws, upon convic-'tion, ſhould be grievouſly puniſhed by our lord the 'king.' And in the 22d year of his reign, it was confirmed by the ſtatute of Marleb. cap. 5. And ſo venerable an eſteem have our anceſtors had for this great charter, and ſo indiſpenſably neceſſary have they thought it to their own and poſterity's felicity, that it hath been above thirty times ratified and commanded, under great penalties, to be put in execution.

Here are the three fundamentals comprehended, and expreſſed to have been the rights and privileges of Engliſhmen.

I. *Ownerſhip*, conſiſting of liberty and property. In that it ſuppoſes *Engliſhmen* to be *free*, there is *liberty:* next, that they have *freeholds*, there is *property*.

II. That they have the *voting of their own laws:* for that was an ancient free cuſtom, as I have already proved, and all ſuch cuſtoms are expreſsly con-

firmed

firmed by this *great charter:* beſides, the people helped to make it.

III. An influence upon, and a real *ſhare in, the judicatory power,* in the execution and application thereof.

This is a ſubſtantial part, thrice provided for in thoſe ſixteen lines of the great charter before rehearſed: 'I. That no amercement ſhall be aſſeſſed, but by oath 'of good and honeſt men of the vicinage. 2. Nor 'ſhall we not paſs upon him, nor condemn him, but 'by lawful judgment of his peers. 3. Or by the law 'of the land:' which is ſynonymous, or a ſaying of equal ſignification, with lawful judgment of peers: for *law of the land,* and *lawful judgment of peers,* are the *proprium quarto modo,* or eſſential qualities, of theſe chapters of our great charter; being communicable *omni ſoli & ſemper,* to all and every clauſe thereof alike.

Chief juſtice Coke well obſerves, in his Second Inſtitutes, that *per legem terræ,* or by the law of the land, imports no more than a 'Trial by proceſs, and writ 'originally at common law;' which cannot be without the lawful judgment of *equals,* or a *common jury:* therefore *per legale judicium parium,* by the lawful judgment of peers, and *per legem terræ,* by the law of the land, plainly ſignify the ſame privilege to the people. So that it is the judgment of the *freemen* of *England,* which gives the *caſt,* and turns the *ſcale,* in Engliſh juſtice.

Theſe being ſo evidently proved by long uſe, and ſeveral laws, to have been the firſt principles, or fundamentals, of the Engliſh free government, I take leave to propoſe this queſtion: 'May the free people 'of England be juſtly diſſeiſed of all, or any, of theſe 'fundamentals, without their conſent collectively?'

Anſ. With ſubmiſſion, I conceive, *not;* for which I ſhall produce, firſt, my reaſons, then authorities.

I. Through the Britiſh, Saxon, and Norman times, the people of this iſland have been reputed and called *freemen* by kings, parliaments, records, and hiſtories: and

and as a *ſon* ſuppoſes a *father*, ſo *freemen* ſuppoſe *freedom*. This qualification imports an abſolute right: ſuch a right as none has right to diſſeiſe or diſpoſſeſs an Engliſhman of: therefore an unalterable fundamental part of the government.

II. It can never be thought, that they intruſted any repreſentatives with theſe capital privileges, farther than to uſe their beſt ſkill to ſecure and maintain them. They never ſo delegated or impowered any men, that, *de jure*, they could deprive them of that qualification: and *à facto ad jus, non valet argumentum*: for the queſtion is not, 'What *may* be done?' but 'What *ought* 'to be done?' Overſeers and ſtewards are impowered not to *alienate*, but preſerve and improve, other mens inheritances. *No owners* deliver their ſhip and goods into any man's hands to give them away, or run upon a rock; neither do they conſign their affairs to agents or factors without limitations. All *truſts* ſuppoſe ſuch a fundamental right in them that give them, and for whom the truſts are, as is altogether indiſſolvable by the truſtees. The truſt is, the liberty and property of the people; the limitation is, that it ſhould not be invaded, but inviolably preſerved, according to the law of the land.

III. If *ſalus populi* be *ſuprema lex*, the ſafety of the people the higheſt law (as ſay ſeveral of our ancient famous lawyers and law-books); then, ſince the aforeſaid rights are as the ſinews that hold together this free body politick, it follows, they are at leaſt a part of the ſupreme law, and therefore ought to be a rule and limit to all ſubſequent legiſlation.

IV. The eſtate goes before the ſteward; the foundation before the houſe; people before their repreſentatives; and the Creator before the creature. The ſteward lives by preſerving the eſtate; the houſe ſtands by reaſon of its foundation; the repreſentative depends upon the people, as the creature ſubſiſts by the power of its Creator.

Every *repreſentative* may be called, the *creature of the people*, becauſe the people make them, and to them they owe their being. Here is no tranſeſſentiating, or

tranſub-

tranſubſtantiating of being, from people to repreſentative; no more than there is an abſolute transferring of a title in a *letter of attorney*.

The very term *repreſentative* is enough to the contrary; wherefore as the houſe cannot ſtand without its foundation, nor the creature ſubſiſt without its Creator, ſo there can be no *repreſentative* without a *people*, nor that *people free*, (which all along is intended, as inherent to, and inſeparable from, the Engliſh people) without *freedom*; nor can there be any *freedom* without ſomething be *fundamental*.

In ſhort, I would fain know of any man how the branches can cut up the root of the tree that bears them? How any repreſentative, that has not only a mere *truſt to preſerve fundamentals*, the people's inheritance, but that is a repreſentative that makes laws, by virtue of this fundamental law, viz. *that the people have a power in legiſlation*, (the 2d principle proved by me) can have a right to remove or deſtroy that fundamental? The fundamental makes the people *free*; this free people makes a *repreſentative*: can this creature unqualify its creator? What ſpring ever roſe higher than its head? The repreſentative is at beſt but a true copy, an exemplification; the free people are the original, not cancellable by a tranſcript: and if that fundamental which gives to the people a power of *legiſlation*, be not nullable by that repreſentative, becauſe it makes them what they are; much leſs can that repreſentative diſſeiſe men of their liberty and property, the firſt great fundamental, that is, parent of this other; and which intitles to a ſhare in making laws for the preſerving of the firſt inviolable.

Nor is the third fundamental other than the neceſſary production of the two firſt, to intercept *arbitrary deſigns*, and make *power legal*: for where the people have not a *ſhare in judgment*, this is, in the application, as well as making of the law, the other two are imperfect; open to daily invaſion, ſhould it be our infelicity ever to have a violent prince. For as property is every day expoſed, where thoſe that have it are deſtitute

titute of power to hedge it about by *law-making*; ſo thoſe that have both, if they have not a ſhare in the application of the law, how eaſily is that hedge broken down?

And indeed, as it is a moſt juſt and neceſſary, as well as ancient and honourable cuſtom, ſo it is the prince's intereſt: for ſtill the people are concerned in the inconveniences with him, and he is freed from the temptation of doing arbitrary things, and their importunities, that might elſe have ſome pretence for ſuch addreſſes, as well as from the miſchiefs that might enſue ſuch actions. It might be enough to ſay, that there are above *fifty ſtatutes* now in print, beſides its venerable antiquity, that warrant and confirm this *legale judicium parium ſuorum*, or the 'Trial of Engliſh-'men by their equals.'

But I ſhall hint at a few inſtances: the firſt is, the earl of Lancaſter, in the 14th of Edw. II. adjudged to die without lawful trial of his peers: and afterwards Henry, earl of Lancaſter, his brother, was reſtored. The reaſons given were two: 1. 'Becauſe the ſaid 'Thomas was not *arraigned*, and put *to anſwer*. 2. 'That he was put to death *without anſwer*, or *lawful* 'judgment of his *peers*.' The like proceedings were in the caſe of John of Gaunt, p. 39. *Coram Rege*. And in the earl of Arundel's caſe, *rot. parl.* 4 Edw. III. N. 13. Alſo in Sir John Alee's caſe, 4 Edw. III. N. 2. Such was the deſtruction committed on the Lord Haſtings in the Tower of London, by Richard III. But above all, the attainder of Thomas Cromwell, earl of Eſſex, who was attainted of high treaſon, as appears, *rot. parl.* 32 Hen. VIII. of which, ſaith chief juſtice Coke, as I remember, 'Let oblivion take away the 'memory of ſo foul a fact, if it can: if not, however, 'let ſilence cover it.'

It is true, there was a ſtatute obtained in the 11th of Henry VIIth, in defiance of the great charter, which authorized ſeveral exactions, contrary to the free cuſtoms of this realm; particularly in the caſe of *juries*, both *aſſeſſing* and *puniſhing* by *juſtices* of *aſſize*, and of the

the *peace*, without the fining and preſentment of *twelve freemen*. Empſon and Dudley were the great actors of thoſe oppreſſions; but they were hanged for their pains, and that illegal ſtatute repealed in the firſt of Henry the VIIIth, ch. 6.

The conſequence is plain; that fundamentals give rule to *acts of parliament*; elſe why was the ſtatute of the 8th Edw. IV. ch. 2. of *liveries* and *information*, by the diſcretion of the judges, to ſtand as an *original*, and this of the 11th of Henry the VIIth, repealed as *illegal?* For therefore any thing is unlawful, becauſe it tranſgreſſeth a law. But what law can an *act of parliament* tranſgreſs, but that which is fundamental? Therefore *trial* by *juries*, or lawful judgment of *equals*, is by *acts of parliament* confeſſed to be a *fundamental* part of our government. And becauſe chief juſtice Coke is ſo generally eſteemed an oracle of the law, I ſhall in its proper place preſent you with his judgment upon the whole matter.

V. Theſe fundamentals are unalterable by a *repreſentative*, which were the reſult and agreement of *Engliſh freemen*, collectively; the ancienter times not being acquainted with repreſentatives: for then the *freemen* met in their own perſons. In all the *Saxon* ſtory we find no mention of any ſuch thing; for it was the *king*, *lords*, and *freemen*: the *elders* and *people*. And at the council of Winton, in 855. is reported to have been preſent, 'The great men of the kingdom, 'and an *infinite multitude* of other faithful people.'[f] Alſo at that of king Ina, 'The common council of 'the elders and people of the whole kingdom:[g]' that is, the moſt or generality of the freemen of the kingdom; for all might come that pleaſed. It is not to be doubted but this continued after the *Norman* times; and that at *Running-Mead*, by *Staines*, the *freemen* of *England* were perſonally preſent at the *confirmation* of that *great charter*, in the reign of king John. But as the ages grew more humane, and free with reſpect to

[f] Ll. Sax. Lam. [g] Concil. Brit. 219. Ingulph.

villains

villains and *retainers*, and that the number of *freemen* increaſed, there was a *neceſſity* for a *repreſentative*; eſpecially, ſince fundamentals were long ago agreed upon, and thoſe *capital privileges* put out of the reach and power of a little number of men to endanger. And ſo careful were the repreſentatives of the people, in the time of Edward the Third, of ſuffering their liberties and free cuſtoms to be infringed, that 'in 'matters of extraordinary weight they would not de-'termine, till they had firſt returned to, and conferred 'with, their ſeveral counties or boroughs that delegated 'them.[h]' Thus the *Parl. Rolls* of his time.

Several *authorities* in confirmation of the *reaſons* before mentioned.

So indubitably are theſe fundamentals the *people's right*, and ſo neceſſary to be preſerved, that kings have ſucceſſively known no other ſafe or legal paſſage to their crown and dignity, than their ſolemn obligation inviolably to maintain them. 'So ſacred were 'they reputed in the days of Henry the IIId, that not 'to continue or confirm them, was to affront God, 'and to damn the ſouls of his progenitors and ſucceſ-'ſors; and to depreſs the church, and deprave the 'realm: that the great charter, comprehenſive of 'them, ſhould be allowed as the *common law of the 'land*, by all officers of juſtice; that is, the *lawful 'inheritance of all commoners:* that all ſtatute laws or 'judgments whatſoever, made in oppoſition thereunto, 'ſhould be null and void: that all the miniſters of 'ſtate, and officers of the realm, ſhould conſtantly be 'ſworn to the obſervation thereof.' And ſo deeply did after-parliaments reverence it, and ſo careful were they to preſerve it, that they both confirmed it by *thirty-two ſeveral acts*, and enacted *copies* to be taken and lodged in each cathedral of the realm, to be read four times a year publickly before the people: as if

[h] Coke 4 Inſt. fol. 14. n. 34.

they

they would have them more obliged to their anceſtors for redeeming and tranſmitting thoſe privileges, than for begetting them: and that 'twice every year, the 'biſhops, apparelled in their pontificals, with tapers 'burning, and other ſolemnities, ſhould pronounce 'the greater excommunication againſt the infringers 'of the *great charter*, though it were but in word or 'counſel;' for ſo ſaith the ſtatute. I ſhall, for farther ſatisfaction, repeat the excommunication or curſe pronounced both in the days of Henry the Third and Edward the Firſt.

The ſentence of the curſe given by the biſhops, with the king's conſent, againſt the breakers of the *great charter*.

'IN the year of our Lord 1253, the third day of 'May, in the great hall of the king at Weſtminſter, 'in the preſence, and by the conſent, of the lord 'Henry, by the grace of God, king of England, and 'the lord Richard, earl of Cornwall, his brother; 'Roger Bigot, earl of Norfolk, marſhal of England; 'Humphrey, earl of Oxford; John, earl Warren; 'and other eſtates of the realm of England; we Bo-'niface, by the mercy of God, archbiſhop of Canter-'bury, primate of England, F. of London, H. of 'Ely, S. of Worceſter, E. of Lincoln, W. of Nor-'wich, P. of Hereford, W. of Saliſbury, W. of 'Durham, R. of Exeter, M. of Carliſle, W. of Bath, 'A. of Rocheſter, T. of St. David's, biſhops, appa-'relled in pontificals, with tapers burning, againſt 'the breakers of the church's liberties, and of the 'liberties and other cuſtoms of this realm of Eng-'land, and namely theſe which are contained in the 'charter of the common liberties of England, and 'charter of the *foreſt*, have denounced ſentence of 'excommunication in this form: By the authority of 'Almighty God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy 'Ghoſt, &c. of the bleſſed apoſtles Peter and Paul, 'and of all apoſtles, and of all martyrs, of bleſſed

'Edward king of England, and of all the ſaints of 'heaven; we excommunicate and accurſe, and from 'the benefit of our holy mother, the church, we ſe-'queſter, all thoſe that hereafter willingly and mali-'ciouſly deprive or ſpoil the church of her right; and 'all thoſe that by any craft or willingneſs do violate, 'break, diminiſh, or change the church's liberties and 'free cuſtoms contained in the charters of the common 'liberties, and of the *foreſt*, granted by our lord the 'king, to archbiſhops, biſhops, and other prelates of 'England, and likewiſe to the earls, knights, and other 'freeholders of the realm; and all that ſecretly and 'openly, by deed, word, or counſel, do make ſtatutes, 'or obſerve them being made, and that bring in cuſ-'toms, to keep them, when they be brought in, 'againſt the ſaid liberties, or any of them, and all 'thoſe that ſhall preſume to judge againſt them; and 'all and every ſuch perſon before mentioned, that 'wittingly ſhall commit any thing of the premiſes, 'let them well know, that they incur the aforeſaid 'ſentence, *ipſo facto*.'

The ſentence of the CLERGY againſt the breakers of the *articles* before-mentioned.

IN the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, Amen. Whereas our ſovereign lord the king, to the honour of God, and of holy church, and for the common profit of the realm, hath granted for him, and his heirs for ever, theſe articles above-written, Robert, archbiſhop of Canterbury, primate of all England, admoniſhed all his province once, twice, and thrice, becauſe that ſhortneſs will not ſuffer ſo much delay as to give knowledge to all the people of England, of theſe preſents in writing: we therefore enjoin all perſons, of what eſtate ſoever they be, that they and every of them, as much as in them is, ſhall uphold and maintain theſe articles granted by our ſovereign lord the king, in all points: and all thoſe that in any point do reſiſt or break, or in any manner hereafter procure, counſel, or in any wiſe aſſiſt to reſiſt

or

or break thoſe ordinances, or go about it, by word or deed, openly or privily, by any manner of pretence or colour; we, the aforeſaid archbiſhops, by our authority in this writing expreſſed, do excommunicate and accurſe, and from the body of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and from all the company of heaven, and from all the ſacraments of holy church, do ſequeſter and exclude.

We may here ſee, that in the obſcureſt times of *popery*, they were not left without a ſenſe of juſtice, and a care of freedom: and that even *Papiſts*, whom many think no friends to liberty and property, under dreadful penalties, enjoin an inviolable obſervance of this great charter, by which they are confirmed. And though I am no Roman Catholick, and as little value their other curſes pronounced upon religious Diſſenters, yet I dare declare ingenuouſly, I would not, for the world, incur this curſe; as every man deſervedly doth, that offers violence to the fundamental freedoms thereby repeated and confirmed. And that any church, or church officers, in our age, ſhould have ſo little reverence to law, excommunication, or curſe, as to be the men that either vote or countenance ſuch ſeverities as bid defiance to the curſe, and tear this memorable charter in pieces, by diſſeiſing freemen of England of their freeholds, liberties, and properties, without *juries*, or merely for the inoffenſive exerciſe of their conſcience to God in matters of religion, is a civil ſort of ſacrilege.

I know it is uſually objected, 'That a great part of 'the charter is ſpent on the behalf of the Roman 'church, and other things, now aboliſhed; and if 'one part of the great charter may be repealed, or 'invalidated, why not the other?'

But to this I anſwer, That the true fundamentals in the charter are not the leſs firm or forcible, or inviolable for that; becauſe they do not ſtand upon that *act*, though it was in honour of them, but the *ancient* and *primitive inſtitution* of the *kingdom*. If the *petition*

of right were repealed, the *great charter* were nevertheleſs in force; it not being the original eſtabliſhment, but a declaration and confirmation of that eſtabliſhment. But thoſe things that are abrogable, or abrogated in the great charter, were never a part of the fundamentals, but hedged in by the *clergy*, and allowed by the *barons* upon preſent emergency. Beſides, that which I have hitherto maintained to be the common and fundamental law of the land, is ſo reputed, and farther ratified, by the *petition of right*, 3 Car. I. which was long ſince the *church of Rome* loſt her ſhare in the *great charter*. Nor did it relate to matters of faith and worſhip, but temporalities only; the civil intereſt, or propriety, of the church. But with what pretence to mercy or juſtice, can the *Proteſtant church* retain the *Engliſh part* of the charter, without conforming to *Rome*, and yet now *cancel* the Engliſh part itſelf to every *free-born Engliſhman* that will not conform to *her?* But no more of this at this time; only give me leave to remind a ſort of active men in our times, that the cruel infringers of the people's liberties, and violaters of theſe noble laws, did not eſcape with bare excommunications and curſes; for ſuch was the venerable eſteem our anceſtors had for theſe great privileges, and deep ſolicitude to preſerve them from the defacings of time, or uſurpation of power, that king Alfred executed *forty judges*, for warping from the ancient laws of the realm. Hubert de Burgo, chief juſtice of England, in the time of Edw. I. was ſentenced by his peers in open parliament, for adviſing the king againſt the *great charter*. Thus the Spencers, both father and ſon, for their *arbitrary rule* and *evil counſel* to Edw. II. were exiled the realm. No better ſucceſs had the actions of Treſilian and Belknap: and as for Empſon and Dudley, though perſons of quality, in the time of king Henry the Seventh, the moſt ignominious death of our country, ſuch as belongs to theft and murder, was hardly ſatisfaction enough to the kingdom, for their *uncharteral* proceeding. I ſhall chooſe to deliver it in the words of chief juſtice Coke,

a man

a man whoſe learning in the law hath, not without reaſon, obtained him a venerable character of our Engliſh nation.

'There was,' ſaith he, 'an act of parliament made 'in the 11th year of king Henry the Seventh, which 'had a fair flattering preamble, pretending to avoid 'divers miſchiefs; which were, firſt, to the high diſ-'pleaſure of Almighty God. Secondly, the great let 'of the common law. And, thirdly, the great let of 'the wealth of this land. And the purven of that act 'tended, in the execution, contrary, *ex diametro*, viz. 'To the high diſpleaſure of Almighty God, and the 'great let, nay, the utter ſubverſion of the common 'law, and the great let of the wealth of this land, as 'hereafter ſhall appear; the ſubſtance of which act 'follows in theſe words:'

"THAT from henceforth, as well juſtices of aſ-"ſize, as juſtices of the peace, in every "county, upon information for the king before them "made, without any finding or preſenting by twelve "men, ſhall have full power and authority, by their "diſcretion, to hear and determine all offences, as "riots, unlawful aſſemblies, &c. committed and "done againſt act or ſtatute made, and not re-"pealed, &c."

'By pretext of this law, Empſon and Dudley did 'commit upon the ſubject inſufferable preſſure and 'oppreſſions; and therefore this ſtatute was juſtly, 'ſoon after the deceaſe of Hen. VII. repealed at the 'next parliament, by the ſtatute of 1 Hen. VIII. 'chap. 6.'

'A good caveat,' ſays he, 'to parliaments, to 'leave all cauſes to be meaſured by the golden and 'ſtrait metewand of the law, and not to the uncertain 'and crooked cord of diſcretion.' He goes on,

'It is almoſt incredible to foreſee, when any max-'im, or fundamental law of this realm is altered, '(as elſewhere hath been obſerved) what dangerous

'inconveniences do follow: which moſt expreſsly ap-
'pears by this *moſt unjuſt* and *ſtrange act* of the 11th
'of Hen. VII. For hereby not only Empſon and
'Dudley themſelves, but ſuch juſtices of peace (cor-
'rupt men) as they cauſed to be authorized, com-
'mitted moſt grievous and heavy oppreſſions and ex-
'actions: grinding the faces of the poor ſubjects by
'penal laws (be they never ſo obſolete or unfit for the
'time) by information only, without any preſentment
'or trial by jury, *being the ancient birthright of the ſub-*
'*ject*; but to hear and determine the ſame by their
'diſcretions; inflicting ſuch penalty as the ſtatutes,
'not repealed, impoſed. Theſe and other like op-
'preſſions and exactions, by the means of Empſon and
'Dudley, and their inſtruments, brought infinite trea-
'ſure to the king's coffers; whereof the king himſelf,
'at the end, *with great grief and compunction, repented*,
'as in another place we have obſerved.

'This ſtatute of the 11th of Hen. VII. we have
'recited, and ſhewed the juſt inconveniences thereof;
'to the end that the like ſhould never hereafter be
'attempted in any court of parliament; and that
'others might avoid the fearful end of thoſe two
'time-ſervers, Empſon and Dudley, *qui eorum veſtigiis*
'*inſiſtant, exitus perhorreſcant.*' Thus much chief juſ-
tice Coke.

I am ſure, there is nothing I have offered in defence of Engliſh law-doctrine, that riſeth higher than the judgment and language of this great man; the preſervation and publication of whoſe labours became the care of a great parliament. And it is ſaid of no inconſiderable lawyer, that he ſhould thus expreſs himſelf in our occaſion, 'The laws of England were ne-
'ver the dictates of any conqueror's ſword; or the
'placita of any king of this nation; or,' ſaith he,
'to ſpeak impartially and freely, the reſult of any
'parliament that ever ſat in this land.'

Thus much for the nature of *Engliſh rights*, and the reaſon and juſtice for their inviolable maintenance. I

ſhall

ſhall now offer ſome more general conſiderations for the preſervation of property, and therein hint at ſome of thoſe miſchiefs that follow ſpoiling it for conſcience ſake, both to prince and people.

I. The reaſon of the alteration of the law ought to be the diſcommodity of continuing it; but there can never be ſo much as the leaſt inconveniency in continuing that of *liberty* and *property*; therefore there can be no juſt ground for infringing, much leſs abrogating, the laws that ſecure them.

II. No man in England is born ſlave to another; neither hath one right to inherit the ſweat of the other's brow, or reap the benefit of his labour, but by conſent; therefore no man ſhould be deprived of his property, unleſs he injure another man's, and then by legal judgment.

III. But certainly nothing is more unreaſonable, than to ſacrifice the liberty and property of any man (being his natural and civil rights) for *religion*, where he is not found breaking any law relating to natural and civil things. Religion, under any modification, is no part of the Old Engliſh government. *Honeſtè vivere, alterum non lædere, jus ſuum cuique tribuere*, are enough to intitle every native to Engliſh privileges. A man may be a very good *Engliſhman*, and yet a very indifferent *churchman*. Nigh three hundred years before Auſtin ſet his foot on Engliſh ground, had the inhabitants of this iſland a *free government*. It is want of diſtinguiſhing between it and the modes of religion, which fills every clamorous mouth with ſuch impertinent cries as this, 'Why do not you ſubmit to the 'government?' As if the Engliſh civil government came in with *Luther*, or were to go out with *Calvin*. What prejudice is it for a *Popiſh landlord* to have a *Proteſtant tenant*; or a *Preſbyterian tenant* to have an *Epiſcopalian landlord?* Certainly, the *civil affairs* of all governments in the world may be peaceably tranſacted under the different *liveries* or *trims* of religion, where civil rights are inviolably obſerved.

Nor is there any intereſt ſo inconſiſtent with peace and unity, as *that* which dare not ſolely rely upon the power of perſuaſion, but affects ſuperiority, and ſeeks after an earthly crown. This is not to act the Chriſtian, but the *Cæſar*; not to promote property, but party, and make a nation drudges to a ſect.

Be it known to ſuch narrow ſpirits, we are a free people by the creation of God, the redemption of Chriſt, and careful proviſion of our (never to be forgotten) honourable anceſtors: ſo that our claim to theſe Engliſh privileges riſing higher than the date of Proteſtancy, can never juſtly be invalidated for nonconformity to any form of it. This were to loſe by the Reformation; which God forbid! I am ſure it was to enjoy property, with conſcience, that promoted it. Nor is there a much better definition of Proteſtancy, than "*Proteſting againſt ſpoiling property for conſcience.*' I muſt therefore take leave to ſay, that I know not how to reconcile what a great man lately delivered in his eloquent ſpeech to the houſe of lords. His words are theſe:

'For when we conſider religion in parliament, we 'are ſuppoſed to conſider it as a parliament ſhould 'do, and as parliaments in all ages have done; that 'is, as it is a part of our laws; a part, and a neceſſary 'part, of our government: for as it works upon the 'conſcience, as it is an *inward principle* of the *divine 'life*, by which good men do govern all their actions, '*the ſtate hath nothing to do with it:* it is a thing which 'belongs to another kind of commiſſion, than that by 'which we ſit here.'

I acquieſce in, and honour, the latter part of this diſtinction, taking it to be a venerable truth; and would to God mankind would believe it, and live it: but how to agree it with the former, I profeſs ignorance: for if the government had nothing to do with the principle itſelf, what more can ſhe pretend over the actions of thoſe men, who live that *good life?* Certainly, if religion be an inward principle of *divine life*, exerting itſelf by holy living, and that, as ſuch, it belongs

belongs not to the commiſſion of our ſuperiors, I do with ſubmiſſion conceive, that there is very little elſe of religion left for them to have to do with: the reſt merits not the name of religion, and leſs doth ſuch a formality deſerve perſecution. I hope ſuch circumſtances are no neceſſary part of Engliſh government, that cannot reaſonably be reputed a neceſſary part of religion: and I believe he is too great a divine and lawyer, upon ſecond thoughts, to repute that 'a part of our 'laws, a part, and a neceſſary part of our government,' that is, ſuch a part of religion as is neither the 'divine principle,' nor yet the 'actions immediately 'flowing from it;' ſince the government was moſt complete and proſperous many ages without it, and hath never known more perplexed conteſts and troubleſome interruptions, than ſince it hath been received and valued as a part of the Engliſh government: and God, I hope, will forbid it, in the hearts of our ſuperiors, that Engliſhmen ſhould be deprived of their *civil inheritance* for their *nonconformity* to church formality: for 'no property out of the church,' (the plain Engliſh of publick ſeverity for nonconformity) is a maxim that belongs not to the holy law of God, or common law of the land.

IV. If liberty and property muſt be the forfeit of conſcience for nonconformity to the prince's religion, the prince and his religion ſhall only be loved as the next beſt acceſſion to other mens eſtates, and the prince perpetually provoked to expoſe many of his inoffenſive people to beggary, for what is no fault at common law.

V. It is our ſuperiors intereſt, that property be preſerved, becauſe it is their own caſe: none have more property than themſelves. But if property be expoſed for religion, the civil magiſtrate expoſes both his conſcience and property to the church, and diſarms himſelf of all defence upon any alteration of judgment. This is plainly for the *prince* to hold under the *prelate*, and the *ſtate* to ſuffer itſelf to be rid by the *church*.

VI. It

VI. It obſtructs all improvement of land and trade; for who will labour that hath property, or hath it expoſed to an unreaſonable ſort of men, for the bare exerciſe of his conſcience to God? And a poor country can never make a rich and powerful prince. Heaven is therefore heaven, to good and wiſe men, becauſe they are to have an *eternal propriety* therein.

VII. This ſort of procedure, hitherto oppoſed, on the behalf of property, puts the whole nation upon miſerable uncertainties, that are followed with great diſquiets and diſtractions; which certainly it is the intereſt of all government to prevent: the reigns of Hen. VIII. Edw. VI. Q. Mary and Q. Eliz. both with relation to the marriages of the firſt, and the religious revolutions of the reſt, are a plain proof in the caſe.

King *Henry* voids the pope's ſupremacy, and aſſumes it himſelf. Comes *Edw.* VI. and enacts *Proteſtancy*, with an oath to maintain it. 1 Q. *Mary*, ch. 1. this is abrogated; *Popery* ſolemnly reſtored; and an oath inforced to defend it: and this queen repeals alſo all laws her father made againſt the *pope*, ſince the 12th of Hen. VIII. Next follows Q. *Elizabeth*, and repeals *her* laws, calls back *Proteſtancy*, ordains a new oath, to un-oath queen *Mary*'s oath: and all this under the penalty of loſing *eſtate*, *liberty*, and ſometimes *life* itſelf; which, thouſands, to avoid, lamentably perjured themſelves, *four or five times over*, within the ſpace of twenty years. In which ſin, the clergy tranſcended: *not an hundred for* every *thouſand*, but left their principles for their pariſhes. Thus hath conſcience been debauched by force, and property toſſed up and down by the impetuous blaſts of ignorant zeal, or ſiniſter deſign.

VIII. Where liberty and property are violated, there muſt always be a ſtate of force: and though I pray God that we never need thoſe cruel remedies, whoſe calamitous effects we have too lately felt, yet certainly, ſelf-preſervation is of all things deareſt to men; inſomuch that being not conſcious to themſelves of having done an ill thing, they, to defend their unforfeited

feited privileges, chearfully hazard all they have in this world: ſo very ſtrangely vindictive are the ſons of men, in maintenance of their rights. And ſuch are the cares, fears, doubts, and inſecurities of that adminiſtration, as render empire a ſlavery, and dominion the worſt ſort of bondage to the poſſeſſor. On the contrary, nothing can give greater chearfulneſs, confidence, ſecurity and honour to any prince, than ruling by law; for it is a conjunction of title with power, and attracts love, as well as it requires duty.

Give me leave, without offence (for I have God's evidence in my own conſcience, I intend nothing but a reſpectful caution to my ſuperiors) to confirm this reaſon, with the judgment and example of other times. The governors of the Eleans held a ſtrict hand over the people; who, deſpairing of relief at home, called in the Spartans, and by their help freed all their cities from the ſharp bondage of their natural lords.

The ſtate of Sparta was grown powerful, and oppreſſed the Thebans: they, though but a weak people, whetted by deſpair, and the proſpect of greater miſeries, did, by the Athenians, deliver themſelves from the Spartan yoke.

Nor is there any other conſiderable reaſon given for the ruin of the Carthaginian ſtate, than avarice and ſeverity. More of this is to be found in Ralegh's Hiſtory of the World, l. 3. who hath this witty expreſſion in the ſame ſtory, l. 5. of a ſevere conduct: 'When a forced government,' ſaith he, 'ſhall decay 'in ſtrength, it will ſuffer, as did the old lion, for 'the oppreſſion done in his youth; being pinched by 'the wolf, gored by the bull, and *kicked* alſo by the 'aſs:' the ſenſeleſs mob.

This loſt Cæſar Borgia his new and great conqueſts in Italy. No better ſucceſs attended the ſevere hand held over the people of Naples, by Alphonſo and Ferdinand. It was the undue ſeverity of the Sicilian governors, that made the Syracuſians, Leontines, and Meſſenians, ſo eaſy a conqueſt to the Romans. An harſh anſwer to a petitioning people loſt Rehoboam ten

ten tribes. On the contrary, in Livy, Dec. 1. l. 3. we find, that Petilia, a city of the Brutians in Italy, choſe rather to endure all extremity of war from Hannibal, than upon any condition to deſert the Romans, who had governed them moderately, and by that gentle conduct procured their *love*; even then, when the Romans ſent them word, 'they were not able to relieve them, and wiſhed them to provide for their own ſafety.'

N. Machiavel, in his Diſcourſes upon Livy, p. 542. tells us, 'That one act of humanity was of more force with the conquered Faliſci, than many violent acts of hoſtility:' which makes good that ſaying of Seneca, *Mitius imperanti melius paretur*; 'They are beſt obeyed, that govern moſt mildly.'

IX. If theſe ancient fundamental laws, ſo agreeable with nature, ſo ſuited to the diſpoſitions of our nation, ſo often defended with blood and treaſure, ſo carefully and frequently ratified by our anceſtors, ſhall not be, to our great pilots, as ſtars or compaſs for them to ſteer the veſſel of this kingdom by, or limits to their legiſlature; no man can tell how long he ſhall be ſecure of his coat, enjoy his houſe, have bread to give his children, liberty to work for bread, and life to eat it. Truly, this is to juſtify what we condemn in Roman Catholicks. It is one of our main objections, that their *church* aſſumes a power of impoſing *religion*, thereby denying men the liberty of walking by the rules of their own *reaſon* and *conſcience*, and precepts of *holy writ*: to whom we oppoſe both. We ſay, the church is tied to act nothing contrary to reaſon; and that holy writ is the declared law of heaven; which to maintain, power is given to the true church. Now let us apply this argument to our civil affairs, and it will certainly end in a reaſonable limitation of our legiſlators, that they ſhould not impoſe that upon our underſtandings, which is inconſiſtent with them to embrace; nor offer any the leaſt violation to common right. Do the Romaniſts ſay, 'Believe as the church believes? Do not the Proteſtants, and, which is harder,

harder, legiſlators, ſay ſo too? Do we ſay to the Romaniſts at this rate, 'Your obedience is blind, and 'your ignorance is the mother of devotion?' Is it not alſo true of ourſelves? Do we object to them, 'This makes your religion uncertain, one thing to-'day, and another to-morrow?' Doth not our own caſe ſubmit us to the like variation in civils? Have we not long told them, that, 'under pretence of obey-'ing the church, and not controuling her power, ſhe 'hath raiſed a ſuperſtructure inconſiſtent with that 'foundation ſhe pretends to build upon?' And are not we the men in civils, that make our privileges rather to depend upon men than laws, as ſhe doth upon councils, not ſcripture? If this be not popery in temporals, what is?

It is humbly beſeeched of ſuperiors, that it would pleaſe them to conſider what reflection ſuch ſeverity juſtly brings upon their proceedings; and remember, that in their ancient delegations, it was not to define, reſolve, and impoſe matters of religion, and ſacrifice civil privileges for it; but, to maintain the people's properties, according to the ancient fundamental laws of the land, and to add ſuch ſtatutes only, as were conſiſtent with, and preſervative of, thoſe fundamental laws.

Laſtly, To conclude this head: my plain and honeſt drift has been, to ſhew that *church* government is no eſſential part of the old *Engliſh* government, and to diſintangle property from opinion; the untoward knot which the clergy for ſeveral ages have tied, which is not only the people's right, but our ſuperiors intereſt to undo; for it galls both people and prince. For, where property is ſubjected to opinion, the church interpoſes, and makes ſomething elſe requiſite to enjoy property, than belongs to the nature of property; and the reaſon of our poſſeſſion is not our right by, and obedience to, the *common law*, but conformity to *church law*, or laws for church conformity. A thing dangerous to civil government, ſince it is an alteration of old Engliſh tenure, a ſuffering the church to trip up

up and ſupplant the ſtate; and a making people to owe their protection not to the *civil* but *eccleſiaſtical* authority. For let the church be my friend, and all is well; make her my foe, and I am made her prey, let *magna charta* ſay what ſhe will for me: my horſes, cows, ſheep, corn, goods, go firſt, my perſon to gaol next, for all that: behold, ſome *church trophies* made at the conqueſt of a peaceable Diſſenter!

This is that anxious thing: may our ſuperiors pleaſe to weigh it in the equal ſcale of "doing as they "would be done by:" let thoſe common laws that fix and preſerve property, be the rule and ſtandard of their legiſlation and adminiſtration. Make *Engliſhmens* rights as inviolable as *Engliſh church* rights: diſintangle and diſtinguiſh them: and let no man ſuſtain *civil puniſhments* for *eccleſiaſtical faults*, but for ſins againſt the ancient, eſtabliſhed *church government* only; that the natures of acts and rewards may not be confounded. So ſhall the civil magiſtrate preſerve law, ſecure his civil dignity and empire, and make himſelf beloved of Engliſhmen; whoſe cry is, and the cry of whoſe laws have ever been, 'Property rather than 'opinion; civil rights not concerned with eccleſiaſti-'cal diſcipline, nor forfeitable for religious noncon-'formity.'

But though an inviolable preſervation of Engliſh rights of all things beſt ſecureth to our ſuperiors the love and allegiance of the people; yet there is ſomething farther, that, with ſubmiſſion, I offer to their ſerious conſideration, which in the ſecond place concerns their intereſt, and the people's felicity: and that is their diſagreement about religion, notwithſtanding their unanimous cry for property; a prudent management of which may turn to the great quiet, honour, and profit of the king and kingdom.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of our ſuperiors governing themſelves upon a balance, as near as may be, towards the ſeveral religious intereſts.

II. Of a balance reſpecting religious differences. Eight prudential reaſons why the civil magiſtrate ſhould embrace it. Three objections anſwered. A comprehenſion conſidered, but a toleration preferred, upon reaſon and example.

TO perform my part in this point, being the ſecond branch of my anſwer to the queſtion, I ſhall not at this time make it my buſineſs to manifeſt the inconſiſtency there is between the Chriſtian religion, and a forced uniformity; not only becauſe it hath been ſo often and excellently done by men of wit, learning and conſcience, and that I have elſewhere largely delivered my ſenſe about it; but becauſe every free and impartial temper hath of a long time obſerved, that ſuch barbarous attempts were ſo far from being indulged, that they were moſt ſeverely prohibited by Chriſt himſelf; who inſtructed his diſciples, "to love "their enemies," and not to perſecute their friends for every difference in opinion: that the tares ſhould grow with the wheat: that his kingdom is not of *this* world: that *faith* is the gift of God: that the *will* and *underſtanding* of men are faculties not to be worked upon by any corporal penalties: that TRUTH is all-ſufficient to her own relief: that *error* and *anger* go together: that *baſe coin* only ſtands in need of *impoſition* to make it current, but that *true metal* paſſeth for its own *intrinſick value*; with a great deal more of that nature. I ſhall therefore chooſe to oppoſe myſelf, at this time, to any ſuch ſeverity, upon mere prudence; that ſuch as have *no* religion (and certainly they that *perſecute* for religion, have as little as need to be) may be induced to tolerate them that have. Firſt, Howe-

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ver adviſable it may be, in the judgment of ſome worldly-wiſe men to prevent, even by force, the ariſing of any *new opinion*, where a kingdom is univerſally of another mind; eſpecially if it be odious to the people, and inconſiſtent with the ſafety of the government; it cannot be ſo, where a kingdom is of *many* minds, unleſs ſome one party hath all the wiſdom, wealth, number, ſober life, induſtry, and reſolution on its ſide; which I am ſure is not to be found in England. So that the wind hath plainly ſhifted its corner, and conſequently obliges to another courſe: I mean, England's circumſtances are grealy changed, and they require new expedients, and another ſort of application.

Phyſicians vary their medicines according to the revolution and the mixture of diſtempers. They that ſeek to tie the government to abſolute and inadequate methods (ſuppoſing them once apt, which cruelty in this caſe never was) are not friends to its intereſt, whatever they may be to their own. If our ſuperiors ſhould make it their buſineſs ſo to prefer *one party*, as to depreſs or deprive the *reſt*, they inſecure themſelves, by making their friends their enemies, who before were one another's. To be ſure it createth hatred between the party advanced, and thoſe depreſſed. Jacob's preferring Joſeph, put his brethren upon that conſpiracy againſt him.

I will allow that they may have a more particular favour for the church party, than for any other perſuaſion, but not more than for all other parties in England: that certainly would break the balance; the keeping up of which, will make every party to owe its tranquility to their prudence and goodneſs, which will never fail of returns of love and loyalty. For ſince we ſee each intereſt looks jealouſly upon the other, it is reaſonable to believe, they had rather the dominion ſhould lodge where it is, while impartial in their judgment, than to truſt it with any one ſort of themſelves.

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Many inquiſitive men into human affairs have thought, that the concord of diſcords hath not been the infirmeſt baſis government can riſe or ſtand upon: it hath been obſerved, that leſs ſedition and diſturbance attended Hannibal's army, that conſiſted of many nations, than the Roman legions, that were of one people. It is marvellous how the wiſdom of that general ſecured them to his deſigns: Livy ſaith, 'That 'his army for thirteen years, that had roved up and 'down the Roman empire, made up of many coun-'tries, divers languages, laws, cuſtoms, religions, 'under all their ſucceſſes of war and peace, *never mu-'tinied.*' Malvetzy, as well as Livy, aſcribes it to that variety, well managed by the general.

By the like prudence Jovianus and Theodoſius Magnus brought tranquillity to their empire, after much rage and blood for religion.

In nature we alſo ſee, all heat conſumes, all cold kills; that three degrees of cold to two of heat, not only allay the heat, but introduce the contrary quality, and overcool by a degree: but two degrees of cold, to two of heat, make a *poize* in elements, and a *balance* in nature.

The like in families: it is not probable that a maſter ſhould have his work ſo well done, at leaſt with that love and reſpect, who continually ſmiles upon *one* ſervant, and ſeverely frowns upon all the *reſt*; on the contrary, it is apt to raiſe feuds amongſt ſervants, and turn duty into revenge, at leaſt contempt. In fine, it is to make our ſuperiors dominion leſs than God made it, and to blind their eyes, ſtop their ears, and ſhut up their breaſts, from beholding the miſeries, hearing the cries, and redreſſing the grievances of a vaſt number of people under their charge, vexed in this world, for their *belief* and inoffenſive *practice* about the next.

Secondly, It is the intereſt of governors to be put upon no thankleſs offices; that is, to blow no coals in their own country, eſpecially when it is to conſume their people, and, it may be, themſelves too: not to

be the cat's foot, nor to make work for themſelves, or fill their own hands with trouble, or the kingdom with complaints. It is to forbid them the uſe of clemency, wherein they ought moſt of all to imitate God Almighty, "whoſe mercy is above all his works;" and renders them a ſort of extortioners to the people, the moſt remote from the end and goodneſs of their office. In ſhort, it is the beſt receipt that their enemies can give, to make them uneaſy to the country.

Thirdly, It not only makes them enemies, but there is no ſuch excitement to revenge, as a raped conſcience. He that hath been forced to break his peace, to gratify the humour of another, muſt have a great ſhare of mercy and ſelf-denial to forgive that injury, and forbid himſelf the pleaſure of retribution upon the authors of it: for revenge, in other caſes condemnable of all, is here looked upon by too many to be the next way to expiation. To be ſure, whether the grounds of their diſſent be rational in themſelves, ſuch ſeverity is unjuſtifiable with them; for this is a maxim with ſufferers, 'Whoever is in the wrong, the *perſecutor* cannot be in the *right*.' Men, not conſcious to themſelves of evil, and harſhly treated, not only reſent it unkindly, but are bold to ſhew it.

Fourthly, Suppoſe the prince, by his ſeverity, conquers any into a compliance, he can upon no prudent ground aſſure himſelf of their fidelity, whom he hath taught to be treacherous to their own convictions. Wiſe men rarely confide in thoſe whom they have debauched from truſt to ſerve themſelves: at beſt it reſembleth but forced marriages, that ſeldom prove happy to the parties. In ſhort, force makes *hypocrites*, it is *perſuaſion* only that makes converts.

Fifthly, This partiality, of ſacrificing the liberty and property of all Diſſenters to the promotion of a ſingle party, be they good or ill men, as it is the lively repreſentation of J. Calvin's *horrendum decretum*; ſo the conſequences of the one belong unto the other; it being but that ill-natured principle put into *practice*. Men are put upon the ſame deſperate courſes, either

to have no conſcience at all, or to be hanged for having a conſcience not faſhionable: for, let them be virtuous, let them be vicious, if they fall not in with that *mode* of religion, they muſt be *reprobated* to all civil and eccleſiaſtical intents and purpoſes. Strange! that men muſt either deny their faith and reaſon, or be deſtroyed for acting according to them, be they otherwiſe never ſo peaceable. What power is this, or rather what principle? But that men are to be protected upon favour, not right or merit; and that no merit out of the publick church-dreſs ſhould find acceptance, is ſevere. We juſtly blame that father, that narrows his paternal love to ſome one of his children, though the reſt be not one jot leſs virtuous than the favourite: ſuch injuſtice can never flow from a ſoul actuated by reaſon, but a mind governed by fancy, and enſlaved to paſſions.

Sixthly, Conſider, peace, plenty, and ſafety, the three great inducements to any country to honour the prince, and love the government, as well as the beſt allurements to foreigners to trade with it and tranſport themſelves to it, are utterly loſt by ſuch partialities; for inſtead of peace, love, and good neighbourhood, behold animoſity and conteſt! One neighbour watches another, and makes him an offender for his conſcience: this divides them, their families and acquaintance; perhaps, with them, the towns and villages where they live: and moſt commonly, the ſufferer hath the pity, and the perſecutor the odium, of the multitude. And truly when people ſee cruelty practiſed upon their inoffenſive neighbours, by a troubleſome ſort of men, and thoſe countenanced by a law, it breedeth ill blood againſt the government. Certainly, haling people to gaols, breaking open their houſes, ſeizing of their eſtates, and that without all proportion; leaving wives without their huſbands, and children without their parents, and their families, relations, friends, and neighbours, under amaze and trouble, is almoſt as far from the peace of a well-

governed kingdom, as it is from the meekneſs of Chriſtianity.

Plenty will be hereby exchanged for poverty, by the deſtruction of many thouſand families within this realm, who are greatly inſtrumental for the carrying on of the moſt ſubſtantial commerce therein; men of virtue, good contrivance, great induſtry; whoſe labours not only keep the pariſhes from the trouble and charge of maintaining them and theirs, but help to maintain the poor, and are great contributors to the king's revenue by their traffick. This very ſeverity will make more bankrupts in the kingdom of England in ſeven years, than have been in it upon all other accounts in ſeven ages: which conſequence, how far it may conſiſt with the credit and intereſt of the government, I leave to better judgments.

This ſort of great ſeverity that hath been lately, and ſtill is, uſed amongſt us, is like to prove a great check to that readineſs, which otherwiſe we find in foreigners to trade with the inhabitants of this kingdom; for if men cannot call any thing their *own*, under a different exerciſe of conſcience from the national way of religion, their correſpondents may juſtly and prudently ſay, 'We will not farther concern ourſelves 'with men that ſtand upon ſuch tickliſh terms: what 'know we but ſuch perſons are ruined in their eſtates, 'by reaſon of their *non-conformity*, before ſuch time 'as we ſhall be reimburſed for money paid, or goods 'delivered: nay, we know not how ſoon thoſe who 'are conformiſts, may be non-conformiſts, or what 'revolutions of councils may happen, ſince the fundamental laws, ſo jealous of the people's property, 'are ſo little valued by ſome of their own magiſtrates; 'for though we are told of very worthy and excellent 'laws in England, for the ſecurity of the people's 'rights, yet we are alſo told, that they all hang at 'the church's girdle; inſomuch as no *church-conformity*, no *property*; which is, *no churchman, no Engliſhman*. So that in effect the rights of their country 'depend upon the rights of their church; and thoſe

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'churches have taken their turn ſo often, that a body 'knows not how to manage one's ſelf ſecurely to one's 'own affairs, in a correſpondence with any of them. 'For in king Henry the Eighth's days, *Popery* was the 'only orthodox religion, and Zuinglius, Luther, Me-'lancthon, Oecolampadius, &c. were great hereticks. 'In Edward the Sixth's time, they were ſaints, and '*Popery* was idolatry. A few years after, queen Mary 'makes the *Papiſts* holy church, and *Proteſtancy* hereſy. 'About ſix years completes her time, and queen Eli-'zabeth enters her reign, in which Proteſtants are '*good Chriſtians*, and the church of Rome the *Whore 'of Babylon*. In her reign, and that of king James, 'and king Charles the Firſt, ſprung the *Puritans*, who 'divided themſelves into *Preſbyterians*, and *Independ-'ents*; the biſhops exclaiming againſt them for *ſchiſ-'maticks*, and they againſt the biſhops for *papiſtical* 'and *antichriſtian*. In the long parliament's time, the '*Preſbyterian* drives out the *Biſhop*. O. Cromwell de-'feating them, and ſending the Preſbyterian to keep 'company with the Biſhop, confers it moſtly upon 'the *Independent* and *Anabaptiſt*, who kept it through 'the other fractions of government, till the Preſbyter 'and Biſhop got it *from* them: and the *Biſhop* now 'from the *Preſbyter:* but how long it will reſt there, 'who knows?' Thus a foreigner may juſtly argue.

Nor is my ſuppoſition idle or improbable, unleſs moderation take place of ſeverity, and *property* the room of puniſhment for opinion; for that muſt be the laſting ſecurity, as well as that it is the fundamental right of *Engliſh people*.

There is alſo a farther conſideration, and that is, the rendering juſt and very good debts deſperate, both at home and abroad, by giving opportunity to the debtors of Diſſenters to detain their dues. Indeed it ſeems a natural conſequence with all, but men of mercy and integrity: 'What ſhould we pay them for,' may they ſay, 'that are not in a capacity to demand 'or receive it, at leaſt to compel us?' Nay, they may plead a ſort of kindneſs to their creditors, and ſay,

'We had as good keep it; for if we pay it them, 'they will ſoon loſe it; it is better to remain with us, 'than they ſhould be pillaged of it by informers;' though want ſhould in the mean time overtake the right owners and their families.

Nor is it unworthy of the moſt deliberate thoughts of our ſuperiors, that the land already ſwarms with beggars; and that there is hardly ſo ready a courſe to increaſe their number, as the ſevere proſecution of Diſſenters, both by making *them* ſuch, and thoſe that their employs have kept from begging all this while: ſo that though they immediately ſuffer, the kingdom, in the end, muſt be the loſer. For beſides a decay of trade, &c. this driving away of flocks of ſheep, and herds of cattle, ſeizing of barns full of corn, breaking open of doors and cheſts, taking away the beſt goods that thoſe inſtruments of cruelty can find, ſometimes *all*, even to a bed, a blanket, wearing apparel, and the very tools of trade, by which people honeſtly labour to get their bread, till they leave men, women, and children, deſtitute of ſubſiſtence, will neceſſitate an extreme advance of the poor's rate in every pariſh of England, or they muſt be ſtarved. O that it would pleaſe them that are in authority, to put a ſtop to this inhuman uſage, leſt the vengeance of the juſt God break forth farther againſt this poor land!

Safety, another requiſite to an happy government, muſt needs be at an end, where the courſe oppugned is followed, by tempting people to irregular methods to be eaſy, or to quit the land. And truly it is but ſome prudent prince's proclaiming liberty of conſcience within his territories, and a door is opened for a million of people to paſs out of their native ſoil; which is not ſo extremely improved, that it ſhould not want two or three hundred thouſand families more than it hath, to advance it; eſpecially at this time of day, when our foreign iſlands yearly take off ſo many inhabitants from us, who, from neceſſity, are made unable to ſtay at home. And as of contra-

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ries there is the ſame reaſon, ſo let the government of England but give that prudent invitation to foreigners, and ſhe maketh herſelf miſtreſs of the arts and manufactures of Europe. Nothing elſe hath preſerved Holland from truckling under the Spaniſh yoke, and being ruined above threeſcore years ago, and given her that riſe to wealth and glory.

Seventhly, Nor is this ſeverity only injurious to the affairs of England, but the whole Proteſtant world: for beſides that it calls the ſincerity of their proceedings againſt the Papiſts into queſtion, it furniſheth them with this ſort of unanſwerable interrogatory: 'The Proteſtants exclaim againſt us for perſecutors, 'and are they now the *very men themſelves?* Was 'ſeverity an inſtance of weakneſs in *our* religion, and 'is it become a valid argument in *theirs?* Are not '*our* actions (once void of all excuſe with them) now 'defended by *their own* practice? But if men muſt be 'reſtrained upon prudential conſiderations from the 'exerciſe of their conſciences in England, why not 'the ſame in France and Germany, where matters of 'ſtate may equally be pleaded?' Certainly, whatever ſhifts Proteſtants may uſe to palliate theſe proceedings, they are thus far condemnable upon the foot of prudence.

Eighthly, Such procedure is a great reflection upon the juſtice of the government, in that it enacts penalties inadequate to the fault committed; viz. That I ſhould loſe my liberty and property, fundamental civil privileges, for ſome error in judgment about matters of religion: as if I muſt not be a *man*, becauſe I am not *ſuch* a ſort of religious man as the government would have me; but muſt loſe my claim to all natural benefits, though I agree with them in civil affairs, becauſe I fall not in with the judgment of the government in ſome points of a ſupernatural import, though no real part of the ancient government. Perhaps, inſtead of going to the left-hand, I go to the right: and whereas I am commanded to hear A. B. I rather chooſe to hear C. D. my reaſon for it being,

'the more religious influence the latter hath over me, 'than the former; and that I find by experience, I 'am better affected, and more religiously edified to 'good living.' What blemish is this to the government? What insecurity to the civil magistrate? Why may not this man sell, buy, plow, pay his rents, be as good a subject, and as true an *Englishman*, as any *conformist* in the kingdom? Howbeit, fines and gaols are very ill arguments to convince sober mens understandings, and dissuade them from the continuance of so harmless a practice.

Lastly, But there is yet another inconvenience that will attend this sort of severity, that so naturally follows upon our superiors making conformity to the doctrine and worship of the church of England, the *sine quâ non*, or inlet to all property, and ground of claim to all English civil privileges; to wit, 'That 'they make a rod, for aught they know, to whip their 'own *posterity* with;' since it is impossible for them to secure their *children* to the English church: and if it happen that any of them are never so conscientiously of another persuasion, they are liable to all the miseries that may attend the execution of those laws. Such a *king* must not be *king*, such *lords* and *commons* must not sit in parliament: nay, they must not administer any office, be it never so inferior, within the realm, and they never so virtuous and capable to do it: their very *patrimony* becomes a prey to a pack of lewd informers, and their persons exposed to the abuse of men, poor or malicious.

But there are three objections that some make against what I have urged, not unfit to be considered. The first is this: 'If the liberty desired be granted, what 'know we but Dissenters may employ their meetings 'to insinuate against the government, inflame people 'into a dislike of their superiors, and thereby prepare 'them for mischief?'

Ans. This objection may have some force, so long as our superiors continue severity; because it doth not only sharpen and excite Dissenters, but it runs many of

of them into ſuch holes and corners, that if they were diſpoſed to any ſuch conſpiracies, they have the ſecureſt places and opportunities to effect their deſign. But what Diſſenter can be ſo deſtitute of reaſon, and of love to common ſafety, as to expoſe himſelf and family, by plotting againſt a government that is *kind* to them, and gives him the liberty he deſires, and that he could only be ſuppoſed, in common ſenſe, to plot for?

To be ſure, liberty to worſhip God, according to their ſeveral profeſſions, will be, as the people's ſatisfaction, ſo the government's greateſt ſecurity: for if men enjoy their property, and their conſcience, which is the *nobleſt* part of it, without moleſtation, what ſhould they object againſt, or plot for? MAD men only burn their own houſes, kill their own children, and murder themſelves? Doth kindneſs, or cruelty, moſt take with men that are themſelves? H. Grotius, with Campanella, well obſerved, 'That a fierce and 'rugged hand was very improper for northern coun-'tries.' Engliſhmen are gained with mildneſs, but inflamed by ſeverity. And many that do not ſuffer, are apt to compaſſionate them that do. And if it will pleaſe our ſuperiors to make trial of ſuch an indulgence, doubleſs they will find peace and plenty to enſue. The practice of other nations, and the trade, tranquillity, power, and opulency, that have attended it, is a demonſtration in the caſe, and ought not to be ſlighted by them that aim at as high and honourable things for their country. And if we had no other inſtance than our own 'intervals of connivance,' they were enough to ſatisfy reaſonable men, how much more moderation contributes to publick good, than the proſecution of people for their religious diſſent; ſince the one hath ever produced trade and tranquillity; the other, greater poverty and diſſenſion.

The ſecond objection, and by far the more weighty, runs thus:

Object. 'The king and parliament are ſworn to 'maintain and protect the *church of England*, as eſta-'bliſhed,

'bliſhed, &c. therefore to tolerate *other* opinions is 'againſt their oath.'

Anſ. Were the conſequence true, as it is not, it were highly unreaſonable to expect impoſſibilities at their hands. Kings and parliaments can no more make brick without ſtraw than captives: they have not ſworn to do things beyond their ability; if they have, their oaths are void. Had it been in his and their time and choice, when the church of England had been firſt diſturbed with diſſenting opinions, it might have reflected more colourably a kind of neglect upon them: but ſince the church of England was no ſooner a church, than ſhe found *ſome* ſort of Diſſenters, and that the utmoſt policy and ſeverity of queen Elizabeth, king James, and king Charles the Firſt, were not ſucceſsful towards an abſolute uniformity, why ſhould it reflect upon them, that the church of England hath not yet rid herſelf of diſſenting parties? Beſides, it is notorious, that the late wars gave that opportunity to differing perſuaſions to *ſpread*, that it was utterly impoſſible for them to hinder, much leſs during the ſeveral years of the king's exile; at what time the preſent parliament was no parliament, nor the generality of the members of it ſcarce of any authority.

Let it be conſidered, that it was the ſtudy of the age to make people *anti-papiſtical* and *anti-epiſcopal*, and that power and preferment went on that ſide. Their circumſtances therefore, and thoſe of their anceſtors, are not the ſame; they found the kingdom divided into ſeveral intereſts; and it ſeems a difficulty inſuperable to reduce them to any *one* perſuaſion; wherefore, to render themſelves maſters of their affections, they muſt neceſſarily govern themſelves towards them on a *balance*, as is before expreſſed; otherwiſe, they are put upon the greateſt hazards, and extremeſt difficulties to themſelves and the kingdom, and all to perform the uncharitable office of ſuppreſſing many thouſands of inoffenſive inhabitants, for the different exerciſe of their conſciences to God.—It is not to make

make them reſemble Almighty God, the goodneſs of whoſe nature extends itſelf univerſally, thus to narrow their bowels, and confine their clemency to one ſingle party.—It ought to be remembered, that *optimus* went before *maximus* of old; and that power without goodneſs, is a frightful ſort of a thing.

But ſecondly, I deny the conſequence, viz. 'That 'the king is therefore obliged to perſecute Diſſenters, 'becauſe he, or the parliament, hath taken an oath 'to maintain the church of England:' for it cannot be ſuppoſed or intended, that by maintaining *her*, they are to deſtroy the *reſt* of the inhabitants. Is it impoſſible to protect her without knocking all the *reſt* on the head? Do they allow any to ſupplant her clergy, invade her livings, poſſeſs her emoluments, exerciſe her authority? What would ſhe have? Is ſhe not church of England ſtill, inveſted with the ſame power, bearing the ſame character? What grandeur or intereſt hath ſhe loſt by them? Are they not manifeſtly her protector? Is ſhe not national church ſtill? And can any of her children be ſo inſenſible, as either to challenge her ſuperiors with want of integrity, becauſe they had not performed impoſſibilities; or to excite them to that harſhneſs, which is not only deſtructive of many thouſands of inhabitants, but altogether injurious to their own intereſt, and diſhonourable to a Proteſtant church? Suppoſe Diſſenters not to be of the viſible church, are they therefore unfit to live? Did the Jews treat ſtrangers ſo ſeverely, that had ſo much more to ſay than herſelf? Is not the king lord of waſtes and commons, as well as incloſures? Suppoſe God hath elected *ſome* to ſalvation, doth it therefore follow he hath reprobated *all the reſt?* And becauſe he was God of the *Jews*, was he not therefore God of the *Gentiles?* Or were not the Gentiles his *people*, becauſe the Jews were his *peculiar* people?

To be brief, they have anſwered their obligation, and conſented to ſevere laws, and commanded their execution, and have not only preferred her *above* every intereſt in *England*, but *againſt* them, to render her more

more powerful and univerſal; till they have good reaſon to be tired with the lamentable conſequences of thoſe endeavours, and conclude, that the *uniformity* thereby intended, is a thing impracticable, as well as miſchievous.

And I wonder that theſe men ſhould ſo eaſily forget that great ſaying of king Charles the Firſt, whom they pretend ſo often, and with ſo much honour, to remember, in his advice to the preſent king, where he ſaith,

'Beware of exaſperating any factions, by the croſſ-
'neſs and aſperity of ſome mens paſſions, humours,
'or private opinions, employed by you, grounded
'only upon their differences in leſſer matters, which
'are but the ſkirts and ſuburbs of religion, wherein
'a *charitable connivance*, and *Chriſtian toleration*, often
'diſſipates their ſtrength, whom rougher oppoſition
'fortifieth, and puts the deſpiſed and oppreſſed party
'into ſuch combinations, as may moſt enable them
'to get a full revenge upon thoſe they count their
'perſecutors; who are commonly aſſiſted with that
'vulgar commiſeration, which attends all that are ſaid
'to ſuffer under the common notion of religion.'

So that we have not only the king's circumſtances, but his father's counſel, upon experience, who yet ſaw not the end of one half of them, defending a charitable connivance, and Chriſtian toleration of Diſſenters.

Obj. 3. But it may be farther alledged, 'This
'makes way for *Popery*, or *Preſbytery*, to undermine
'the church of England, and mount the chair of pre-
'ferment; which is more than a prudential indulgence
'of different opinions.'

Anſ. And yet there is not any ſo probable an expedient to vanquiſh thoſe fears, and prevent any ſuch deſign, as keeping all intereſts upon the balance; for ſo the *Proteſtant* makes at leaſt ſix parties againſt *Popery*, and the *church* of *England* at leaſt five againſt *Preſbytery*:

Preſbytery: and how either of them ſhould be able to turn the ſcale againſt five or ſix, as free and thriving intereſts as either of them can pretend to be, I confeſs I cannot underſtand. But if *one* only intereſt muſt be tolerated, which implies a reſolution to ſuppreſs the reſt, plain it is, that the church of England ventures her ſingle party againſt ſix growing intereſts, and thereby gives *Preſbytery* and *Popery* by far an eaſier acceſs to ſupremacy; eſpecially the latter, for that it is the religion of thoſe parts of Europe, which neither want inclination nor ability to proſper it. So that beſides the conſiſtency of ſuch an indulgence with the nature of a Chriſtian church, there can be nothing more in prudence adviſeable for the church of England, than to allow of the balance propounded: in the firſt, no perſon of any real worth will ever the ſooner decline her; on the contrary, it will give her a greater reputation in a country ſo hating ſeverity: and next, it gives her opportunity to turn the ſcale againſt any one party that may aſpire to her pulpits and endowments; and ſhe never need to fear the agreement of all them to any ſuch deſign; *Epiſcopacy* being not more intolerable than *Preſbytery* in power, even to an Independency itſelf; and yet between them lies the narroweſt difference that is among the diſſenting intereſts in this kingdom.

But this ſeems too large and yielding, and therefore to find a medium, ſomething that may compaſs the happy end of good correſpondence and tranquillity, at leaſt ſo to fortify the church of England, as that ſhe may ſecurely give law to all other religious intereſts, I hear a *comprehenſion* is pitched upon, and diligently purſued by both Epiſcopalians and Preſbyterians, at leaſt ſome of each party.

But if it becomes wiſe men to look before they leap, it will not be unadviſeable for them to weigh the conſequences of ſuch an endeavour.

For, in the firſt place, there is no people I know in England, that ſtands at a greater diſtance from her doctrine, as it is maintained by her preſent ſons, than the

the *Preſbyterians*, particularly about *abſolute reprobation*, the *perſon* of *Chriſt*, *ſatisfaction* and *juſtification*: and he muſt be a ſtranger in the religious conteſts of our times, that knows not this.

2. In the next place, none have governed themſelves with a plainer denial, and more peremptory contempt of epiſcopacy, and the whole diſcipline and worſhip of the church of England, than the Preſbyterians have ever done: let them put me to prove it, if they pleaſe, even of their 'moſt reverend fathers.'

3. Who knows not that their reciprocal heats about theſe very things, went a great way towards our late lamentable civil wars? Now if the ſame principles remain with each party, and that they are ſo far from repenting of their tenaciouſneſs, that on the contrary they juſtify their diſſent from one another in theſe matters, how can either party have faith enough to rely upon each other's kindneſs, or ſo much as attempt a comprehenſion? What muſt become of the labours of biſhop Whitgift, R. Hooker, biſhop Bancroft, biſhop Laud, &c. in rebuke of the "Preſbyterian "Separation," and the names of thoſe leading Diſſenters, as Cartwright, Dod, Bradſhaw, Rutherford, Galaſpee, &c. ſo famous among the preſent Preſbyterians, and that for their oppoſition to the church? This conſidered, what reaſon can any render, why the Epiſcopalians ſhould ſo ſingularly provide for, and confide in, an intereſt that hath already been ſo deſtructive to theirs? On the other hand, with what prudence may the Preſbyterians embrace the other's offer, who, to be ſure, intend it not in ſtark kindneſs to them, and who, they muſt needs think, cannot but owe revenge, and retain deep grudges for old ſtories? But,

4. The very reaſon given for a comprehenſion, is the greateſt that can be urged againſt it; namely, 'The ſuppreſſion of other diſſenting perſuaſions.' I will ſuppoſe a comprehenſion, and the conſequences of it, to be an eradication of all *other* intereſts, the thing deſired: but if the two remaining parties ſhall fall

fall out, as it is not likely that they will long agree, what can the Preſbyterian have to balance himſelf againſt the ruling power of Epiſcopacy? Or the Epiſcopalian to ſecure himſelf againſt the aſpirings of Preſbytery? They muſt all become *Epiſcopalians*, or *Preſbyterians*, elſe they will mix like *iron* and *clay*, which made ill legs for the image in Daniel: nor is it to be thought, that *their* legs ſhould ſtand any better upon a comprehenſion.

But ſome are ready to ſay, 'That their difference 'is very minute:' Grant it; are they ever the more deſerving for that? Certainly, forbearance ſhould carry ſome proportion with the greatneſs of the difference, by how much it is eaſier to comply in ſmall than great matters. He that diſſents *fundamentally*, is more excuſable than thoſe that ſacrifice the peace and concord of a ſociety about *little circumſtances*; for there cannot be the ſame inducement to ſuſpect men of obſtinacy in an *eſſential*, as *circumſtantial* non-conformity.

Beſides, how far can this accommodation extend with ſecurity to the church of England? Or, on what better terms will the Preſbyterians conform to her diſcipline and formal acts of devotion, than thoſe upon which Peter du Moulin offered to preach the goſpel at Rome? viz. 'That if the pope would give 'him leave to preach at Rome, he would be contented to preach in a *fool's coat*.' I queſtion if the Preſbyterian can go ſo far; I am ſure he could not; and as ſure, that Peter du Moulin hoped, by preaching there in a fool's coat, to inculcate that doctrine which ſhould *un-mitre* the pope, and alter his church; the very thing the church of England fears, and fences againſt. For Peter du Moulin intended to preach in a fool's coat no longer, than till he had preached the people wiſe enough to throw it *off* again. So the Preſbyterians; they may conform to certain ceremonies (once as ſinful to them, as a fool's coat could be ridiculous to Peter du Moulin) that they may the better introduce their alterations both in doctrine and diſcipline.

But

But that which ought to go a great way with our ſuperiors in their judgment of this matter, is not only the benefit of a balance againſt the preſumption of any one party, and the probability, if not certainty, of their never being overdriven by any one perſuaſion, whilſt they have others that will more than poize againſt the growing power of it; but the conceit itſelf, if not altogether impracticable, is at leaſt very difficult to the promoters, and an office as thankleſs from the parties concerned.

This appears in the endeavours uſed for a comprehenſion of *Arrians* and *Homoouſians* under *one orthodoxy*, related not only in our common eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, but more amply in the writings of Hilary, an enemy to the Arrians, and Mariana's Spaniſh hiſtory. Their publick teſts, or comprehenſive creeds, were many, Nice, Ariminum, Sirmium, &c. in order to reconcile both parties, that neither might ſtigmatize the other with the odious crime of hereſy: but the conſequence of all this convocation and prolix debate was, that neither party could be ſatisfied, each continuing their former ſentiments, and ſo grew up into ſtronger factions, to the diviſion, diſtraction, and almoſt deſtruction of the whole empire; recovered a little by the prudent moderation of Jovianus, and much improved, not by 'a comprehenſion,' but reſtoration of a 'ſeaſonable liberty of conſcience,' by Theodoſius Magnus.

Alſo in Germany, about the time of the Reformation, nothing ſeemed more ſincere than the deſign of union between the Lutherans and Zuinglians: for Luther and Zuinglius themſelves, by the earneſt endeavours of the Landgrave of Heſſe, came together; but the ſucceſs was ſo ſmall, notwithſtanding the Grave's mediation, that they parted ſcarcely civil: to be ſure, as far from unity as controverſy is.

Luther and cardinal Cajetan met for a compoſure of the breach betwixt the *Proteſtants* and the *Pope*, but it was too wide for thoſe conferences to reconcile: no comprehenſion could be practicable. A ſecond eſſay

to

to the ſame purpoſe, was by Melancthon, Caſſander, and others; the conſequence of it was, that the parties were diſpleaſed, and the heads ſuſpected, if not hated of their followers. Nor had Bucer's meeting with Julius Pflugg any better ſucceſs.

And how fruitleſs their endeavours have been, that with greateſt art and induſtry have, of a long time, endeavoured a reconciliation of *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts*, is well known to thoſe that are acquainted with the affairs of Germany; and ſuch as are not, may furniſh themſelves from the publick relations given by thoſe that are employed about that accommodation: where, beſides a dull and heavy progreſs, the reader may be a witneſs of their complaint, not only that both parties are too tenacious, but that the mediators ſuffer detraction for their good endeavours; each ſide grudging every tittle they yield, and murmuring as if they were to loſe their religion. And if perſons ſo diſintereſted, and worthy in their attempts, have had no better iſſue, I cannot ſee how thoſe who ſeem compelled by worldly intereſt, more than conſcience, to ſeek and propagate a comprehenſion, eſpecially when it determines in the perſecution of the rejected perſuaſions, can, with any reaſon, expect from God, or good men, any better ſucceſs.

Laſtly, There is nothing any man, touched with juſtice and mercy, can alledge for a comprehenſion, that may not much better be urged for a toleration; for the church is leſs in danger when ſhe knows the worſt, than where the danger is hid: five enemies without doors being not ſo miſchievous as one within. But they are alſo men, and Engliſhmen, as well as thoſe of other perſuaſions: their faith is as Chriſtian, they believe as ſincerely, live as conſcientiouſly, are as uſeful in the kingdom, and manage their diſſent with as much modeſty and prudence, the church of England herſelf being in great meaſure judge, as thoſe on whoſe account a comprehenſion may be deſired: to be ſure they are Engliſhmen, and have an equal claim to the civil rights of their native country, with any that live

in it; whom to perſecute, whilſt others, and thoſe no better men in themſelves, are more than tolerated, is, as I have already ſaid, 'The unreaſonable and unmerciful doctrine of *abſolute reprobation* put in practice in *civils*: from which the Lord deliver us.'

CHAP. III.

A ſincere promotion of general and practical religion.

III. Of *general* and *practical religion*. That the promotion of it is the only *way* to *take in*, and ſtop the mouth of, all perſuaſions, being the center to which all parties *verbally* tend, and therefore the ſtation for a prudent *magiſtrate* to meet every intereſt in: the neglect of it pernicious: inſtances: that it is the *unum neceſſarium* to felicity here and hereafter.

I AM now come to the laſt, which, to be ſure, is not the leaſt part of my anſwer to the queſtion propounded, viz. 'The ſincere promotion of *general* and *practical* religion;' by which I mean the *ten commandments*, or *moral law*, and *Chriſt's ſermon upon the mount*, with other heavenly ſayings, excellently improved, and earneſtly recommended, by ſeveral paſſages in the writings of his diſciples, which forbid *evil*, not only in *deed*, but *thought*; and enjoin *purity* and *holineſs*, as without which, *no man*, be his pretences what they will, *ſhall ever ſee God*. In ſhort, general, true and requiſite religion, in the apoſtle James's definition, is, 'To viſit the widow and fatherleſs, and to keep ourſelves,' through the univerſal grace, 'unſpotted of the world.' This is the moſt eaſy and probable way, to fetch in all men profeſſing God and religion: ſince every perſuaſion acknowledges this in words, be their lives never ſo diſagreeable to their confeſſion. And this being the *unum neceſſarium*, that one thing needful, to make men happy here and hereafter, why, alas! ſhould men ſacrifice their accord in this

this great point, for an unity in minute or circumſtantial things, that perhaps is inobtainable, and if it were not, would ſignify little or nothing, either to the good of human ſociety, or the particular comfort of any, in the world which is to come?

No one thing is more unaccountable and condemnable among men, than their uncharitable conteſts about religion! indeed about words and phraſes! whilſt they all verbally meet in the moſt, if not only, neceſſary part of Chriſtian religion: for nothing is more certain, than if men would but live up to one half of what they know in their own conſciences they ought to practiſe, their edge would be taken off, their blood would be ſweetened by mercy and truth, and this unnatural ſharpneſs qualified. They would quickly find work enough at home, each man's hands would be full by the unrulineſs of his own paſſions, and in ſubjecting of his own will; and inſtead of devouring one another's good name, liberty, or eſtate, compaſſion would riſe, and mutual deſires to be aſſiſtant to each other, in a better ſort of living. Oh! how decent, and how delightful would it be, to ſee mankind, the creation of one God, that hath upheld them to this day, of one accord, at leaſt in the weighty things of God's holy law!

It is want of practice, and tòo much prate, that have made way for all the incharity and ill-living that is in the world. No matter what men *ſay*, if the devil keep the houſe. Let the grace of God, the *principle* of *divine life* (as a great man lately called it in his ſpeech) but be heartily and reverently entertained of men, that teaches us to deny all ungodlineſs, and converſe ſoberly, righteouſly, and godly, in this preſent evil world, and it is not to be doubted but tranquillity, at leaſt a very amicable correſpondence, will follow.

Men are not to be reputed good by their *opinions* or *profeſſions* of religion; nor is it that which ought to engage the government, but *practice*; it is this that muſt *ſave* or *damn*. Chriſt, in his repreſentation of the

great day, doth not tell us, that it ſhall be ſaid to men, 'Well *ſaid*, or well *talked*,' but "Well *done*, "good and faithful ſervant:" neither is the "Depart "from me," directed to any, but the *workers* of *iniquity*. *Error* is now tranſlated from the ſignification of an *evil life*, to an *unſound propoſition*; as *philoſophy* is from the *mortification* of *evil deſires*, and *well-living*, to an *unintelligible way* of *wrangling*. And a man is more bitterly harraſſed for a *miſtaken notion*, though the party holding it thinks it not ſo, and the party charging it denies an infallible judgment (ſo that it may as well be true as falſe, for all them) than for the *moſt diſſolute* or *immoral life*. And truly it is high time that men ſhould give better teſtimony of their Chriſtianity: for *cruelty* hath no ſhare in Chriſt's religion; and *coercion* upon conſcience is utterly inconſiſtent with the very nature of his kingdom. He rebuked that zeal which would have "fire come down from heaven, to devour "Diſſenters," though it came from his own diſciples; and forbad them to pluck up the *tares*, though none had a more gentle or infallible hand to do it with.

He preferred mercy before ſacrifice; and therefore we may well believe, that the unmerciful ſacrifices ſome men now offer, I mean 'impriſoning perſons, 'ſpoiling of goods, and leaving whole families deſti-'tute of ſubſiſtence,' as well as diſinheriting them of all civil privileges in the government, are far from being grateful to him, who therefore came into the world, and preached that heavenly doctrine of forbearing, and loving of enemies, and laid down his moſt innocent life for us, whilſt we were rebels, that by ſuch peaceable precepts, and ſo patient an example, the world might be prevailed upon to leave thoſe barbarous courſes. And doubtleſs, very lamentable will their condition be, who, at the coming of the great Lord, ſhall be found "beaters of their fellow-"ſervants."

In vain do men go to church, pray, preach, and ſtile themſelves believers, Chriſtians, children of God, &c. whilſt ſuch acts of ſeverity are cheriſhed among them;

them; and any diſpoſition to moleſt harmleſs neighbours for their conſcience, ſo much as countenanced by them. A courſe quite repugnant to Chriſt's example and command. In ſhort, the promoting of this general religion, by a ſevere reprehenſion and puniſhment of vice, and encouragement of virtue, is the intereſt of our ſuperiors, ſeveral ways:

1. In that it meets with, and takes in, all the religious perſuaſions of the kingdom; for all pretend to make this their corner-ſtone. Let them be equally encouraged to ſquare their building by it. 'Penal laws 'for religion, is a church with a ſting in her tail;' take that out, and there is no fear of the people's love and duty. And what better obligation or ſecurity can the civil magiſtrate deſire? Every man owns the text; it is the *comment* that is diſputed. Let it but pleaſe him to make the *text only* ſacred and neceſſary, and leave men to keep company with their own meanings or conſequences, and he does not only prudently take in all, but ſuppreſſeth nice ſearches, fixes unity upon materials, quiets preſent differences about things of leſſer moment, retrieves humanity and Chriſtian clemency, and fills the kingdom with love and reſpect to their ſuperiors.

2. Next, a promotion of general religion, which, being in itſelf practical, brings back ancient virtue. Good living will thrive in this ſoil; men will grow honeſt, truſty, and temperate; we may expect good neighbourhood and cordial friendſhip; one may then depend more upon a word, than now upon an oath. How lamentable is it to ſee people afraid of one another; men made and provided for of one God, and that muſt be judged by that one eternal God, yet full of diffidence in what each other ſays, and moſt commonly interpret, as people read Hebrew, all things backward!

3. The third benefit is, that men will be more induſtrious, more diligent in their lawful callings; which will increaſe our manufactures, ſet the idle and poor to work for their livelihood, and enable the ſeveral

counties with more eaſe and decency to maintain the aged and impotent among them. Nor will this only help to make the lazy conſcientiouſly induſtrious, but the induſtrious and conſcientious man chearful at his labour, when he is aſſured to keep what he works for; and that the ſweat of his brows ſhall not be made a forfeit for his conſcience.

4. It will render the magiſtrate's province more facile, and government a ſafe as well as eaſy thing. For, as Tacitus ſays of Agricola's inſtructing the Britons in arts and ſciences, and uſing them with more humanity than other governors had done, that it made them fitter for government; ſo if practical religion, and the laws made to maintain it, were duly regarded, the very nature of men, now wild and froward by a prejudiced education and croſs and jealous intereſts, would learn moderation, and ſee it to be their greateſt intereſt to purſue a ſober and amicable converſation; which would eaſe the magiſtrate of much of his preſent trouble, and increaſe the number of men fit to govern; of which the parliament-times are an undeniable inſtance. And the truth is, it is a piece of ſlavery to have the regiment of ignorants and ruffians; but there is true glory in having the government of men, inſtructed in the juſtice and prudence of their own laws and country.

Laſtly, It is out of this nurſery of virtue, men ſhould be drawn to be planted in the government; not what is their opinion, but what are their manners and capacity? Here the field is large, and the magiſtrate has room to chooſe good officers for the publick good. Heaven will proſper ſo natural, ſo noble, and ſo chriſtian an eſſay; which ought not to be the leaſt conſideration with a good magiſtrate; and the rather, becauſe the neglect of this practical religion hath been the ruin of kingdoms and commonwealths, among Heathens, Jews and Chriſtians. This laid Tarquin low, and his race never roſe more. How puiſſant were Lacedæmon and Athens of Greece, till luxury had eaten out their ſeverity, and a pompous living, contrary

trary to their excellent laws, rendered their execution intolerable? And was not Hannibal's army a prey to their own idleneſs and pleaſure; which, by effeminating their natures, conquered them, when the whole power of Rome could not do it? What elſe betrayed Rome to Cæſar's ambition, and made way for the after-rents and diviſions of the empire; the merit, as well as conqueſt and inheritance, of a well-governed people for ſeveral ages, as long as their manners laſted? The Jews likewiſe were proſperous, while they kept "the judgments and ſtatutes of their God;" but when they became rebellious and diſſolute, the Almighty either viſited them from heaven, or expoſed them to the fury of their neighbours. Nothing elſe ſent Zedekiah to Babylon, and gave him and the people a victim to Nebuchadnezzar and his army.

'Neglect of laws, and diſſolute living,' Andrew Horne, who lived in the time of Edward the Firſt, as before cited, tells us, 'was the cauſe of the miſerable 'thraldom and deſolation the Britons ſuſtained by in-'vaders and conquerors.' And pray, what elſe hath been the Engliſh of our ſweeping peſtilence, dreadful fires, and outrageous factions of late years? Hundreds of examples might be brought in this caſe; but their frequency ſhall excuſe me.

Thus have I honeſtly and plainly cleared my conſcience for my country; and anſwered, I hope, modeſtly, and though briefly, yet fully, the import of the queſtion propounded, with honour to the magiſtrate, and ſafety to the people, by an happy conjunction of their intereſts. I ſhall conclude,

That as greater honour and wiſdom cannot well be attributed to any ſort of men, than for our ſuperiors, under their circumſtances, to be ſought to by all perſuaſions, confided in by all perſuaſions, and obeyed by all perſuaſions, and to make thoſe perſuaſions know that it is their intereſt ſo to do, as well as that it is the intereſt of our ſuperiors they ſhould, and to which the expedients propoſed naturally tend; ſo, for a farther inducement to embrace it, let them be conſtantly

remembered, that the intereſt of our Engliſh governors is like to ſtand longer upon the legs of the Engliſh *people* than of the Engliſh *church*; ſince the one takes in the ſtrength of *all* intereſts, and the other leaves out all but *her own*: and it may happen that the Engliſh *church* may fail, or go travel again; but it is not probable that the Engliſh *people* ſhould do either; eſpecially while *property* is preſerved, a balance kept, general religion propagated, and the world continues.

May all this prevail with our ſuperiors to make the beſt uſe of their little time: remembering, in the midſt of all their power and grandeur, that they carry mortality about them, and are equally liable to the ſcrutiny and judgment of the laſt day, with the pooreſt peaſant; and that they have a great ſtewardſhip to account for: ſo that moderation and virtue being their courſe, they, for the future, ſhall ſteer, after having faithfully diſcharged that great truſt repoſed in them, by God and this free people, they may, with comfort to their ſouls, and honour to their names and actions, ſafely anchor in the haven of eternal bleſſedneſs: ſo prays, with much ſincerity,

An Engliſh Chriſtian man,

And their true friend,

WILLIAM PENN.

A COROL-

A COROLLARY.

THAT the people are under a great diſſatisfaction: that the way to quiet differences, and render contrary intereſts ſubſervient to the intereſt of the government, is,

Firſt, To maintain inviolably the rights of it, viz. *liberty* and *property*, *legiſlation* and *juries*, without neglect. That ſlighting and infringing them hath been the injury of *prince* and *people*, and early or late the ruin of the contrivers of ſo ill deſigns; and when all has been done, the only expedient has been, to come back again to *Engliſh law*. This takes in all, pleaſes all, becauſe it ſecures and profits all. Sacrificing privileges for the ſake of conformity, makes a breach upon the civil government, alienates the people's affections from their prince, lodges property in the church, ſo as none can come at it, but through obedience to her rites, for ſhe at this rate has the keeping of it; a thing unknown, as well as unſafe, to the ancient Engliſh government.

2dly, That the prince govern himſelf upon a balance towards all religious intereſts: that this beſt poizes parties to his ſecurity, renders him maſter of an univerſal affection, and makes him truly and ſafely prince of all his country: but the contrary courſe narrows his juſtice and mercy, makes the government to ſhine but upon one part of the kingdom; to be juſt but to one party, and diſinherit the reſt from their birthright: that this courſe ends in great diſadvantage to the peace, plenty, and ſafety of prince and people.

3dly, and laſtly, Inſtead of being uncharitable, ſevere and cruel for modifications, let the debate about them ſleep, and general and practical religion be promoted, that which receives an amen in every man's conſcience, from the *principle* of *divine life* (as the lord

lord keeper well called it) in every breaſt; that all agree in the *moſt weighty* doctrines; and that nothing will ſooner ſweeten mens blood, and mollify their natures, than employing that time and pains they beſtow on fruitleſs conteſts, in *living up* to what they both *know*, *believe*, and *accord in:* that this leaves men to keep company with their *own* comments, and makes the *text only* ſacred, and holy living *neceſſary*, not only to heavenly but earthly places, I mean preferments: whence *virtue* becomes the door to *favour*, and *conſcience* (now ſmothered in the croud of ſiniſter intereſts) the noble rule of living.

God Almighty, if it pleaſe him, beget noble reſolutions in the hearts of our ſuperiors to uſe theſe plain and ſafe expedients; that charity may ſupplant cruelty, conteſt yield to good life, and preſent diſtances meet in a juſt and kind neighbourhood.

Great and honourable is that prince, and free and happy that people, where theſe things take place.

WILLIAM PENN.

A LETTER

A

LETTER

TO THE

PRINCESS and COUNTESS,*

AT

HERTFORD in GERMANY,

Publiſhed in the Year 1676.

JESUS be with your ſpirits; the immaculate Lamb of God, and glorious light of the world, his pure Spirit redeem you from the evil and ignorance that are in it, and repleniſh you with his everlaſting righteouſneſs, whoſe end is peace and aſſurance for evermore.

Noble of *this* world, but *more* noble for your enquiry after the TRUTH, and love to it, the fame whereof hath ſounded to the ears of ſome of us in this iſland, whom God hath made both his certain witneſſes and meſſengers, through many and great tribulations, eternal, heavenly praiſes to his holy and powerful name, who lives and reigns over all principalities, and powers, and thrones, and dominions for ever.

I have had you, *worthy women*, often in my remembrance, with that honour which is not of this world;

* Princeſs Elizabeth of the Rhine, and Anna Maria de Hornes, counteſs of Hornes.

even

even then, when my ſoul has been in its pureſt retirements, not only from all viſibles, but from their very ideas in the mind, and every other imagination; reſting with the Lord in his own ſabbath, which is the *true ſilence* of all fleſh indeed, which profits above the formal Chriſtian's bodily exerciſe. And in theſe heavenly ſequeſtrations of ſoul, and true reſignation unto the divine will of my Father, have I taken a moſt clear proſpect of you, and every circumſtance that may be fit for me to know; your education, your quality, your dignity, the envy of the clergy, the fury of the rabble, and the ſtrength and power of temptation, ariſing from all theſe conſiderations, if poſſible to ſmother your bleſſed beginnings; and, as ſo many bands of ſoldiers, employed and commiſſioned of their great prince of darkneſs, to watch, and hinder JESUS from riſing in you. In a weighty ſenſe of all which, my heart opens itſelf unto you in God's counſel, after this manner: Be faithful to that you know, and obedient to that which God by the light of his Son makes manifeſt in your own conſciences. Conſult not away the pure and gentle ſtrivings of the Holy Ghoſt: drown not his *ſtill voice* with the croud of careful thoughts, and vain contrivances: break not the bruiſed reed, neither quench the ſmoking flax in yourſelves. O! if you truly love Jeſus, hear him: and ſince it hath pleaſed God in ſome meaſure, as with Paul, to reveal his bleſſed Son in you, conſult not with fleſh and blood, that are below the heavenly things; for that inherits not the kingdom of God: but, with ſincere Mary, from a deep ſenſe of the beauty, virtue, and excellency of that life that is hid with Chriſt in God, wait out of all cumber, free from that running, willing, ſacrificing ſpirit that is in the world, in the pure obedience, humiliation, godly death, or ſilence, at the feet of Jeſus, chooſing the better part, which ſhall never be taken from you: and Jeſus will be with you, he will ſhed his peace abroad in the midſt of you, even that which flows from the cryſtal ſtreams of life, that ariſe from under the throne of God. Pre-

pare,

parè, prepare to meet the Lord; for aſſuredly Jeſus is riſen, the faithful and true witneſs; and he is come, in "ten thouſands of his ſaints," to judge this fallen Chriſtian world. He that was dead, during the "Times, time, and half a time," is now alive, and lives for ever: nor ſhall hell, death, or the grave, get the dominion any more; but life and immortality ſhall ſpring as the morning without clouds. The ſet-time of the Father is come; and all faces ſhall gather paleneſs, yea, and all knees ſhall ſmite and bow, and tongues ſhall confeſs to this his appearance; ſome to joy, others to miſery: ages and generations have not known him; the earth has been covered with violence, oppreſſion, uncleanneſs, rewards, gifts, blood, wrath, malice, pride, covetouſneſs: yet God profeſſed, and Chriſt confeſſed: a glorious church, a pompous worſhip, and as much religion (ſuch as it was) as the world could hold: but O the idolatry! O the falſe witneſs! O the blaſphemy and lying! O the profaneneſs of thoſe, and theſe days! And why? Becauſe their hearts thirſted after their carnal pleaſures, more than after the living God. Their care was, and is, after what they ſhall eat and drink, and put on, the *old heathen life*, and not after the kingdom of God, and the righteouſneſs of it; that Jeſus, the true Saviour, the immaculate Son of God, who by doing his Father's will faithfully and patiently, even unto death, left us an example, that we ſhould follow his ſteps, and not live unto ourſelves. And this is the abominableſt idolatry, that of the ſoul to any other object, than the Lord and God of the ſoul. This is to ſet up ſomething as God, over all that is called God, debaſing, ſlighting, grieving, and quenching the Holy Spirit in the mean while. O how few think of this deteſtable idolatry! here is the firſt commandment broken; how then can people expect to have eternal life? But all the commands are broken: for God did not only prohibit *idolatry*, which is worſhipping *another* God, but worſhipping the true God vainly, falſly, with a vain mind, after an unprofitable manner, which

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is an unſanctified frame of ſoul. And how has Chriſtendom taken God's name in vain, and worſhipped God in vain! What good is come of the ages of worſhip? What luſts are overcome? What evil repelled? Have not all manner of abominations reigned? Has not the truth been held in unrighteouſneſs? And have not generations bleſſed God with their mouths, wherewith they have preſently curſed men? Have not violence, avarice, oppreſſion, cruelty, pride, paſſion, wrath, envy, vain ſports, pleaſures, and delights, filled the earth, under all the profeſſion that has been made of Chriſt and God? Has he that has named the name of Chriſt, or that has called himſelf by that name, departed from iniquity? O, no; it may be truly ſaid, that ſuch have ſought the Lord in vain. Why? Becauſe not as Jacob's ſeed, who was a plain good man, but of rebellious Eſau's ſtock. "You aſk, and you "have not:" Why? Says James, "Becauſe you aſk "amiſs." They ſought in a wrong nature, to feed the luſts of the ſame. Though they aſk, they never receive; and though they knock, it will never be opened unto them: ſuch can never find: for all worſhip towards God muſt ſtand in the name and nature of Jeſus, or will never pierce the heavens. It will be in vain, it will profit nothing. So that this command is alſo broken. To ſay nothing of the frequent uſe of the name of God about every trivial thing in common converſation: *O God! O Lord Jeſu!* and ſuch like; for which, among other things, the Lord God will pour out of the vials of his wrath upon the nations: O bleſſed are they that fear always, and remember that ſevere ſaying of Jeſus, "That every idle word "that men ſhall ſpeak, they ſhall give account thereof "in the day of judgment," Mat. xii. 36.

Next, the *true ſabbath* is neglected: for the goſpel day is the *ſpiritual ſabbath*, the day of redemption, deliverance, and ſalvation: they have ſinned away this day, doing their own works, when they ſhould have been at the true faſt, the myſtical abſtinence, and humbled into the grave, doing the works of God:

yet

yet talk of being freed from under the law, and under grace, while they live *without* law, grace, Chriſt, and God in the world, being led, not by the Spirit of God, (no, that is enthuſiaſm, fanaticiſm, familiſm, quakeriſm, &c.) but by their own wills, luſts, intereſts, and unregenerate appetites.

Rebellion has covered the earth: for there has not been an "honouring of their father and their mo-"ther;" for they have rejected the commands of their Father, caſting his law behind their backs, not glorifying him as God their Father, when they knew him: and they have diſregarded the advice of their mother, the true primitive church, that was redeemed with the precious blood of the Lamb of God that taketh away the ſins of the world, and that waſhed her and purged her, not leaving in her either ſpots or wrinkles: for ſo he preſented her to God his Father; ſo that ſhe put off her old converſation, which was after the faſhions and cuſtoms of this world, that ſhe might be adorned with the robes of righteouſneſs; fine linen, white, the mark of innocence; fitly trimmed for the delight of her beloved, her Jeſus, her king, her lawgiver, her maker, and her huſband too, in whoſe chaſte embraces ſhe lives, his unſpotted dear ſpouſe for ever. Now, what is a church, but the redeemed flock, family, houſhold or people of God? If then the church of Chriſt muſt be pure, the members that conſtitute that church muſt be pure: not by a vain and fictitious imputation, but a ſolid and real purgation, redemption, and ſalvation unto righteouſneſs. For faith in Abraham was a righteous act of obedience in his ſoul; therefore God imputed righteouſneſs unto him: and bleſſed are his ſpiritual offſpring for ever, whoſe faith overcomes, and is not overcome of, the world. For thoſe are falſe faiths, forced and imaginary conceits, that cleanſe not, which true faith doth; that works by that love, which conquers the world, and loves God above all; the highway to eternal life. So here the world hath been in the breach of another command, they have diſhonoured their father and mo-

ther,

ther, and therefore have their days been few in the land of the living to God.

But the Chriſtian world, ſo called, hath been defiled by cruelty, even to blood: "Thou ſhalt not kill," ſaith the Lord: little did ſome of the Jews think that they broke this law, when they "killed the prophets, "and ſtoned them that were ſent unto them:" but what ſaid their children? did they ſpeak after the ſame note? No: 'Had we lived in the days of our 'fathers, we would not have done as they did:' and alas! they did worſe. Where it is worth obſerving, that when the devil hath perſecuted holy men to death, and finds that the way (to wit, death) by which he hopes to bury all with them, is the way by which their doctrine and endeavours ſhine more conſpicuouſly and convincingly to others, he turns proſelyte too, and ſays, 'Theſe were good men alſo,' and puts his followers upon ſetting up the lamentation for the loſs of thoſe pious men; which, alas! he murdered; and of their words, and exterior forms, patches he up a *viſible religion*; and then ſits he as God, or like God, in the hearts of men and women. So that he will be viſibly for religion, when he can no longer hinder. But this is to make him the greater deceiver, and to paſs the more unqueſtioned and unſuſpected.

This *lamentation* for the murdering of the prophets, admiration of their works, and building and adorning of their ſepulchres, baffled the judgment of weak and ſimple people; but eſpecially deceived the multitude, and rendered the *crucifixion* of *Jeſus* more eaſy and tolerable. *Stephen* followed, then *James*, and ſoon after that time the bitter perſecution of the *Chriſtians:* but by that time kings received Chriſtianity, eaſe and plenty flowed in. Who ſo pompous, magnificent, gaudy, worldly, as Chriſtian biſhops, their churches, officers, and people? Self-denying Jeſus loſt in the crowd; the true life of religion expired, and zeal extinguiſhed; diviſions ariſen, and one biſhop againſt another, even to death: nothing but *flattery*, *hypocriſy*, and *conformity* could well tell how to live in the 4th, 5th,

5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries, and ſo to our days. Now the rivers of blood ſpilt by *Jews* and *Heathens*, become a great ſwelling *ſea*, by *Chriſtian*, or rather *Anti-chriſtian perſecutions*: now it is that all councils and ſynods are convened in deſign, held in faction, and broke up in ſelf-intereſt. No liberty of conſcience in thoſe days; no one muſt dare to buy or ſell, civilly or ſpiritually, but they muſt firſt have the mark of that church and ſtate: O monſtrous degeneracy! here is Chriſt again crucified in the ſtreets of Sodom and Egypt, in the hearts and lives of the ſons and daughters of men. So that here are not only thouſands of *martyrs* of Jeſus, but *Jeſus*, the *Lord*, once more martyred, the true and faithful witneſs: and they have, in all ages, hired and ſet ſoldiers, who are killers by profeſſion, to watch againſt his riſing. Now is the church in the wilderneſs, the place of obſcurity and ſhelter: this was the winter-ſeaſon, the time of ſack-cloth and aſhes: now all were merry, ſending gifts one to another, in their revels and maſquerades over the ſlain witneſs of the Lord: here is the bloodieſt, and therefore the wofulleſt, of all murders.

But this is not all; they proceed to the next commandment, "Thou ſhalt not commit adultery." And this they have fearfully broken; for Chriſtendom, ſo called, hath committed adultery moſt notoriouſly; and conſequently broken God's holy law: for alas! alas! has ſhe not forſaken the everlaſting fountain, the ſpring of immortal life, that is pure for ever, and hewn out to herſelf ciſterns that will hold no water? Has ſhe not deſerted her firſt love, and her firſt works? And has ſhe not flung herſelf into the embraces of another lover, whereby ſhe has divorced herſelf from the *living God*, and joined to an *apoſtate ſpirit*, by whom numerous is her unclean iſſue, and many are her abominations that ſhe has brought forth, even ſuch of them as were neither known to Jew or Heathen? This is ſhe that hath "committed fornication," with all

the powers upon the earth, whom ſhe hath bewitched to her *cup*, and her *bed*.

But the day of the terrible vengeance of God is come, and coming, in which ſhe and her gallants and merchants ſhall come to judgment: and the remnant of the true woman's ſeed, that has been ſojourning as poor pilgrims in the deſolate wilderneſs with her, are come forth leaning on the breaſt of her Beloved, to whom ſhe has been, though a poor and baniſhed, yet a faithful ſpouſe, during this long and tedious reign of Antichriſt, the whore, beaſt, falſe prophet, and dragon, which is the devil: And becauſe her dear huſband is "King of kings, and Lord of lords," and has all power in heaven and earth, and that it becomes her to be, if his wife, a glorious queen; therefore hath he ordained that ſhe ſhall no more ſit as one deſolate and forſaken, clothed in ſackcloth, which is the garment of heavineſs; but ſhall be crowned with the ſtars, clothed with the ſun, and the moon ſhall be under her feet; that is, the changeable world, with all its temporary glory, ſhall be her foot-ſtool. Then needs muſt ſhe be exalted above the "Whoriſh wo-"man," whoſe higheſt throne was but the true and heavenly woman's foot-ſtool. In this day Judah ſhall dwell ſafely, and Iſrael ſhall be glad.

But we muſt not ſtop here; for the prieſts have been like troops of thieves by the highway-ſide, that have robbed by conſent, and 'like prieſt, like people:' for firſt, it has been the practice of the clergy, of all lands, to inſinuate themſelves, by their policy and flatteries, into the favour of the princes of this world, and thereby procured to themſelves *large taxes* on the people; not only to their better maintenance, but to their being upheld in worldly pomp and grandeur, and the amaſſing of baſe treaſures to them and their temporal kindred, for which there is neither precept nor example in holy ſcripture, unleſs it be, that the falſe prophets were wont to prepare war of old againſt ſuch as refuſed to "put into their mouths;" that is, to incenſe the civil magiſtrate againſt them, as ene-

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mies to the government, his religion eſtabliſhed by law. O! but the falſe Chriſtian has herein tranſcended all former ages! How many millions have they got, not for feeding, but ſtarving, the ſouls of millions? And that which greatly aggravates their ſin, is their forgery, alledging the authority of heaven by a mere counterfeit commiſſion; impiouſly uſing God's name, to palliate their deſign; and, by the credit his excellent name has with the works of his hands, to obtain to themſelves an almoſt infinite wealth.

But this is not all the robbery I charge Chriſtendom with; for they have, both prieſt and people, been confederate with the grand robber, the devil, in robbing God of his honour and prerogative, which is the hearts and affections of the ſons and daughters of men: for when the great Creator made his firſt ſettlement upon man and woman, he gave them the earth here, and the heaven hereafter, for their inheritance, and that to them and their heirs for ever. Providing always, that they gave this acknowledgment to their great Lord, that their *hearts* ſhould be *his*; a ſmall and reaſonable chief-rent: but they rebelled, and ſo forfeited their right, and came under the curſe, from whence Chriſt came to deliver their offspring: ſome were reſtored; it was his work to do ſo, and to build upon the waſte places. But not many ages after, an apoſtacy comes; not as at unawares, or by chance; it was foreſeen, its beginnings, continuings, and end. During this apoſtacy, the devil has ſat as God, and therefore is called the "God of this world, and prince "of the power of the air, that rules,"—Where? in the ſaints? in the ſanctified? no ſuch matter! Where then? "In the hearts of the children of diſobedience, "that obey not the truth as it is in Jeſus."

Thus hath God been robbed of his honour, propriety, and prerogative, and they have been given to another than the only true and living God. Some have made over their hearts to worldly honour and preferment: others to earthly riches: others to pleaſures: others to uncleanneſs: others to their outward

and temporal comforts: O! many ways there are to forget the Lord.

But the robbery ends not here; man loſeth his own ſoul: and what can he give, in the dreadful day of account, in exchange for his poor ſoul? People have ſold their birthright for a meſs of pottage: they have robbed themſelves of their own peace, and of their eternal inheritance with God, when time ſhall be no more. Which leads me to the next commandment, as amply broken as any of the reſt, viz. "Thou ſhalt "not bear falſe witneſs againſt thy neighbour." For alas! there has been no true one borne by Chriſtendom, ſince the primitive days: and how ſhould ſhe? ſince ſhe has ſlain the faithful and true witneſs, and crucified him in her ſtreets: nay, and done her endeavour to root out all his friends and brethren, yea, if poſſible, to extinguiſh the very life of the Son of God in all that live upon the earth. Nor could ſhe compaſs all theſe tragical deſigns, had ſhe not made uſe of *falſe witneſſes*. For ſhe has been induced to hire people to ſwear lies, in all ages, againſt the witneſſes of Jeſus, as the Jews did to Jeſus and his diſciples.

When did ſhe impriſon, baniſh, kill, but under the notion of ſchiſmatick, heretick, blaſphemer, enemy to God, Chriſt, and holy church, with the like pretences? Is not this to give falſe witneſs againſt innocent neighbours? But this is not all which proves the breach of this commandment; the whole life of Chriſtendom does it too amply and too lamentably: for are they not falſe witneſſes, who affirm things they never ſaw, and make profeſſion of things they do not know? If ſo, when did Chriſtendom ſee, taſte, and handle of the word of eternal life, which ſhe verbally profeſſeth, which is as a fire, an hammer, an ax, a two-edged ſword, the word of regeneration, of reconciliation, and of patience, an holy *light* and *lamp* to the ſoul? Which brings me to the laſt head, being the ſubſtance and matter of it, viz. 'The blaſphemy and lying of 'Chriſtendom, ſo called.'

This

This great beaſt roſe out of the filthy *ſea*, the corrupt ages of this world, long after the primitive times; hath *heads*, which is, perfection of wit and policy; and *ten horns*, that is, *mighty power:* has had, and yet hath, the name of blaſphemy writ upon all his heads that is, a profeſſion of God in words, whilſt he is denied in works; the grand deſtructive *atheiſm* of the world: it is the blaſphemy of all blaſphemies, to call God Father, when born of the devil: what! to intitle the pure God to ſuch an impure offspring? To live in the vanities, and pleaſures, and luſts of this world; and yet to ſay, "Is not God our Father, and is not "the Lord on our ſide?" No, he is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity, much more than to own the children of ſin, or to have communion with them: "What "haſt thou to do to take my name into thy mouth; "that hateſt to be reformed? Though thou crieſt I "will not hear, and though thou calleſt I will not "anſwer. Behold, I will make them known to be "of the ſynagogue of Satan, that ſay, they are Jews, "and are not." And this is the greateſt of all lies, the lie that is in the "right hand," the place of greateſt ſtrength and eſteem; religion and worſhip: to ſay they are Chriſtians, and are not: to profeſs Chriſt in the hiſtory, and crucify him in the myſtery: to confeſs to his outward coming, and reſiſt his inward appearance in themſelves: to keep the day of his external birth, while they make merry over him, ſlain and crucified in their own heatheniſh *hearts*; rebelling againſt his *light* in their own conſciences, which is Chriſt's *day* to them, and Chriſt is God's everlaſting day: O what will be the end of ſuch! "Ye uncircumciſed in heart "and ear, ye do always reſiſt the Holy Ghoſt, as did "your fathers, ſo do ye:" and yet ye call yourſelves the ſeed of Abraham, and children of God, but love and chooſe a murderer and Barabbas, rather than CHRIST, the Son of the living God. Oh! what more abominable lie can be told than this? And will not all ſuch be ſhut out, among them that work and make a lie, if they embrace not the day of their viſitation,

and come to the truth, and by it be made free from every evil way?

This is that "*great iniquity*" which has profaned the "holy place:" that "curſed abomination," which ſtood ſo long till it hath made deſolate the place which God hath ſanctified for himſelf, the *hearts* of the ſons and daughters of men; the firſt and laſt *living temple* of *God:* every beaſt of prey, every unclean bird, has taken up their dwelling there; inſomuch that God has been like a ſtranger to the nobleſt part of the workmanſhip of his own hands.

And though the Lord has not left himſelf without witneſſes in any age; yet they were ſo few, and moſt of them, though accepted according to their day and work, yet ſo ſhort as to the main work, that a remnant can ſay, when the Lord firſt opened the eyes of their underſtanding, the world lay in a great heap of wickedneſs, vanity, and confuſion; all following the deſires of their own hearts, to gratify the luſts of the ſame, living vainly and wantonly upon the earth: yea, the whole earth looked like one great wilderneſs, full of briars and thorns, birds and beaſts of prey.

And when God poured out of the ſpirit of judgment and of burning upon us, not only making us ſenſible of his holy terrors in and for ourſelves, but of that day of fiery trial he would ſuddenly overtake the world withal; "our faces gathered paleneſs, and our "knees ſmote together; our hearts fainted; our lips "quivered, and our bellies trembled: and all that we "might reſt in the day of trouble."

But while we were under the lightning and thunders, and great earthquakes, wars, and rumours of wars, ſuch as had not been ſince the foundation of the world, as to us; (for the "Sun became darkened, "and the moon was turned into blood, and none of "the ſtars of the night appeared," while our agonies took ſtrong hold upon us, and we were in the extremity of our pains) O the gazing-ſtock that we were made to all, yea, ſpectacles to God, angels, and men: ſome ſaid, we were bewitched: others, that we were

ſtrongly

ſtrongly poſſeſſed of the devil: all aſtoniſhed: parents beating and diſowning of their children: children inſulting over their parents: maſters evilly entreating of their ſervants: ſervants abuſing of their maſters: the huſband uſing violence to the wife: the wife becoming ſtrange and unnatural to her own huſband: and all moſt cruelly vexed, abuſed and tormented by the magiſtrates, through the wicked and unwearied inſtigations of the prieſts of all ſorts, by jails, dungeons, whippings, ſtocks, pillories, plunders, &c. O the calamity! O the bitter diſtreſs of that day! And though we were but few in that day, and very low, poor, and even deſpicable in our own eyes; yet were we exceeding ſtrong and valiant in the "Lord Jehovah; our "everlaſting ſtrength." For our inward man daily renewed, and we greatly loved one another: but never till now did we truly know what CHRIST was, either in conception, birth, reproaches, ſufferings, death, reſurrection, or aſcenſion; a myſtery to the whole Chriſtian world at this day, who are not turned to the light of Jeſus in their own conſciences.

And as in the holy watch we kept, not being ſtaggered at the reproaches of the men of this world, but, with Moſes, chooſing them, rather than the treaſures and pleaſures of Egypt, where our dear Lord lay crucified; we exceedingly grew in the grace and favour of God, and we were very tender by any wandering thought, much more by any evil act, to grieve this Holy Spirit, or babe of righteouſneſs, born in ourſelves, whom we deſired ſhould reign, being overcome with joy that he was born that brought life with him to our immortal ſouls. And after we had ſtaid at "Jeruſalem," the city of our God and King, to receive his inſtructions, commiſſion, and authority, abroad we went, upon the "Pourings out of his Holy Spirit." And we went, in the name and power of our God, to declare of his judgments, and to tell of his terrible day, to call all to repentance, and to prepare to meet the Lord, to make ready the way of our God; who was coming to lay "judgment to the line, and righ-

" teouſneſs to the plummet;" to examine, ſift, and winnow the ſons and daughters of men; to judge in righteouſneſs; who will not be deceived by vain ſhews of religion; for he is a jealous God of his honour, and his glory will he give to no man, neither will he acquit the guilty, or puniſh the innocent.

But after this breaking-forth of ours, and publiſhing our meſſage to the world, eſpecially to profeſſors, the Scribes and Phariſees take the alarm: finding their call, qualification, and credit, and, which is moſt of all in their eye, their maintenance, brought in queſtion, and their whole kingdom ſhaking; *man-made* miniſtry being proved inſufficient, *forced* maintenance antichriſtian, and that no man could know, much leſs preach, *divine things* without *divine revelations* and *inſpirations*; and that no man was a true Chriſtian, much leſs a true miniſter, that was not born of water and the ſpirit, fire and Holy Ghoſt; they raged greatly, diſpatched their Sauls to Damaſcus, to the rulers of the nation, crying, 'Help, help, or religion is loſt, and the kingdom of Chriſt will go down; behold 'great deceivers and ſeducers, and falſe prophets; an-'tichriſts are riſen, as was propheſied of, to come in 'the laſt days: now they are come, beſtir yourſelves, 'make laws, catch them, whip them, impriſon them, 'baniſh and burn them.'

And truly, they lay in wait for blood, and ſeveral of us were tried for our lives, for blaſphemers, haled out of their ſynagogues, for our pure teſtimony's ſake, ſome crying, 'Knock the rogues down: they are 'witches,' ſaid others; 'Devils,' ſaid others; 'We 'have a law, and by our law they ought to die.'

They never wanted falſe evidence to produce, as well as that we were frequently made offenders for our true and ſavory words, whether in reproof or exhortation uttered, with our lives in our hands, in obedience to the heavenly viſion. No juſtice, no mercy: if we eſcaped the multitude, the magiſtrate had the ſtocking, impriſoning, or whipping us: if we eſcaped the magiſtrate, the multitude, at the inſtigation of the

prieſts, fell like ſo many greedy wolves, or hungry tygers, upon us, beating, and kicking and dragging of us, till ſome part of our fleſh has been like a jelly, often breaking our heads and bones; and ſome they have murdered by the like barbarous uſage: not daring all this while either to fly the place, or return them one railing accuſation; committing our lamentable cauſe to God alone to plead our innocency, having no helper in the earth.

Nor were theſe things all our ſufferings, or the depths of our tribulations; by no means; for the ſharpeſt of our trials were from men of a religious profeſſion, whoſe hearts contrived miſchief, and their tongues and pens uttered it with all manner of ſlander and contradiction; inſomuch that when we were not in the hands of the magiſtrates or multitude, we were almoſt perpetually employed in diſputations and conferences, perſonal or by writings: on which occaſion, the world loving its own, we had great difficulty and wrong; ſuch perverſions of our words and ſayings, ſuch flouts and jeers, ſuch interruptions and noiſes, as would have been abhorred of ſober heathens.

However, we bore it all, through the holy patience of Jeſus; and in the end of theſe encounters with Epheſian-like-beaſts, we rarely miſſed of ſome gained to the faith: and finding, at long run, that they could neither wrangle, ſlander, nor perſecute us out of that teſtimony we had borne for the living God, and perceiving that the multitude began to flag, and would no longer be the inſtruments of their cruelty, taking notice of our great increaſe, notwithſtanding all theſe oppoſitions; as alſo ſeeing that ſome of their own kindred and acquaintance were converted, whom they always confeſſed to be more religiouſly addicted than themſelves, and that this change augmented both their virtue, and their tender love to their kindred; many gave over this way of proceeding, and ſome moderate reſpite we had for a time; but perſecution by fits; that is, as at any time the clergy has prevailed with the civil magiſtrate; and becauſe moſt, if not all, other ways

ways of nonconformity hide and ſlink, uſing their politicks for ſelf-preſervation; and that we cannot deſert our ſtandard or teſtimony, (ſince it were to be acceſſary to the prevalency of darkneſs) therefore hath ſuffering been our lot above all other nonconformiſts; as our nation can witneſs.

But bleſſed be the name of the everlaſting God, who hath been as a "pillar of fire by night, and a pillar "of cloud by day," and a "rock in a weary land," and a pure ſpring by the way-ſide; and has ſuſtained us by the inviſible cordials of his own love, life, peace, and joy; and in the ark of his eternal teſtament preſerved us, making good to us what he promiſed of old, that the "old lions ſhould be hungry, "and the young lions ſhould lack their food, and the "youth ſhould faint; but they that waited upon the "Lord, and truſted in their God, ſhould renew their "ſtrength; and no good thing would be withheld "from them: they ſhould walk, and not be weary; "they ſhould run, and not faint." Yea, he often compaſſed us about with many and precious promiſes; and ſo great was our reſolution for the Lord, that, with Habakkuk, we could ſay; "Though the fig-"tree ſhall not bloſſom; neither ſhall fruit be in the "vines; the labour of the olive ſhall fail, and the "fields ſhall yield no meat; the flock ſhall be cut off "from the fold, and there ſhall be no herd in the "ſtalls; yet we will rejoice in the Lord, we will joy "in the God of our ſalvation: the Lord God is our "ſtrength, and he will make our feet like hind's feet, "and he will make us to walk upon the high places;" and that hath he done many a time to our aſtoniſhment; for he hath given us power from on high "to "bind kings in chains, and nobles in fetters of iron, "to tread upon the necks of our enemies, and to "poſſeſs the gates of them that once hated us." O I could write a volume of the judgments and mercies, and faithfulneſs of the Lord; who hath kept us, increaſed us, confirmed us, protected us, and comforted us to this very day: for which thouſands are the ſouls

and

and ſpirits, that day and night, in *white linen*, the *raiment* of the *firſt reſurrection*, bow and reverence, honour and praiſe, glorify and exalt him, that ſits upon the throne, and the Lamb who is worthy for ever!

But much of that wonderment, ſuffering and reproach is over; the rigour of our enemies abated; and the bleſſed LIGHT and TRUTH in the conſcience, becomes valuable in the eſteem of many, and the ſincere followers of it greatly reſpected; and that by perſons of very great *quality*. And though the laws, oaths, and other cuſtoms of our country reſtrain men of authority from entirely falling in with us, or conferring any ſecular employments upon us; yet have they, with great importunity, ſought to us in their own perſonal and family concerns, and repoſed all truſt and confidence in us. And bleſſed be the Lord, who hath kept us in the way of integrity, and that has ſo marvellouſly turned the hearts of the great ones of the earth, inſomuch that we can ſay, when thoſe that would be thought as the *heavens* have ſought our deſtruction, *the earth*, mere worldly great men, have often helped the *woman*, and ſaved us from the raging envy of the Scribes and Phariſees: bleſſed be the name of the Lord our God; who is a God like unto him?

And farthermore this know: now that God hath made this paſſage in the land of our nativity, and caſt his firm anchor of hope in the ſouls of many thouſands in this iſland, he will ſuddenly break in upon the nations about us; and all theſe diſtreſſes, that now are in the bowels of Europe, are to prepare the way of the Lord. God will thin the people: he will pinch, pine, and wither countries; and into confuſion ſhall Europe run more and more: and when their diſtreſs is complete, then ſhall they cry early and earneſtly after the Lord. And welcome, O beauteous, ſhall the feet of them be, that bring glad tidings to the weary, and the diſtreſſed; and when Europe is brought ſo low, as to ſee "there is no helper in the *earth*," then ſhall *heaven* be in requeſt; and to heaven ſhall her

her inhabitants look; and from thence ſhall he come into their hungry ſouls, whom they have looked for.

And this is the word of the Lord, that lives in my ſoul to you; "The Lord, whom you look for, ſhall "ſuddenly come to his temple," even your hearts. O prepare, prepare; make ready; watch unto his appearing in you, to make you a fit habitation for his holineſs to dwell in. Let him have your whole hearts; let the mangers be for the beaſts, and not for the Babe of Glory, whoſe very birth brings "Glory to "God on high, peace on earth, and good-will towards "men."

Yet ſorrow goes before, and will gird all nations; for in that day, when they "ſhall ſee him whom they "have pierced, all kindreds, tribes, and families, "ſhall mourn, as one would ſorrow for one's firſt-"born, and be in bitterneſs as for one's only child." And with ſuch ſhall it be well; for to them it will be not only a day of viſitation, but redemption.

But wo unto the *idol ſhepherds*, in that day, who have fed themſelves, and not the flock; who have run, and God never ſent them; and cried, Thus ſaid the Lord, and God never ſpake to them; and that have preyed upon the flock, and prepared war againſt thoſe, that in conſcience could not put into their hireling-mouths; that have been the great emiſſaries of the falſe prophet; and to all that commit ſin with greedineſs, and will have none of the Lord, nor of the knowledge of his ways; but, with the prieſts and rulers of this world, that have drunk deep draughts of the blood of the ſaints, and martyrs of Jeſus: from the eyes of ſuch ſhall repentance be hid in that day, and their tongues will be ſcorched with the heat thereof; and they will utter blaſphemies againſt the Moſt High, and their end will be eternal perdition.

"And behold, I ſtand at the door, and knock," ſaith the Lord God; "I am ready to be *revealed*." It ſhall not be ſaid, "The fathers have eaten ſour grapes, "and the childrens teeth are ſet on edge:" but thus ſaith the Lord, "Every ſoul ſhall bear his *own* burden;

"and

" and for the *iniquity* that he hath done, ſhall he *die*;
" unleſs he die to ſin by unfeigned repentance: for
" my ſwift witneſs, who is faithful and true, is ariſing,
" and by him will I plead with all fleſh."

" Wherefore, wo to all the inhabitants of the earth,
" that have caſt my law behind their back, and grieved
" my Holy Spirit: that have taken counſel, and not
" of me, and that have forgotten me days without
" number: that have lived wantonly upon the earth,
" and conſumed their days in pleaſures: that have
" multiplied ſacrifices unto me, but have not hark-
" ened unto my word: that ſerve me with their lips,
" while their hearts are far from me. That offer unto
" me incenſe, and yet oppreſs the Holy One of Iſrael
" with their iniquities: my ſoul loaths your aſſem-
" blies, and your ſacrifices are an abomination uno
" me."

" O repent, repent: turn unto me; (why will you
" die?) that I may give you life: obey the light of
" my Son in your hearts, and ye ſhall yet live before
" me."

" And all you that ſeparate yourſelves from the
" multitude, in whom my Spirit has been ſtirring,
" but have quenched it with your own ſtirrings, and
" have made a fire of the ſticks that you have gather-
" ed; and that compaſs yourſelves about in the ſparks
" of the fire that you have kindled, (which is not the
" fire that comes from heaven) behold, this ſhall you
" have at my hand; you ſhall all lie down in ſorrow."

" Wherefore, hear and live: my ſacrifice is in mine
" own Spirit; whoſe motions do thou wait for, in the
" ſilence of all fleſh; and give up thyſelf, in obedi-
" ence unto the ſame, and I will touch thy heart with
" a coal from my own holy altar; and a *living* ſacri-
" fice ſhalt thou offer unto me on my *ſabbath-day*,
" in which thou ſhalt reſt from *thy own* works, and
" therein ſhall my ſoul be delighted, and thou ſhalt
" rejoice before me: for with me, the Lord, is ever-
" laſting wiſdom, ſtrength, and refreſhment."

This

This is the ancient way of the Lord; this is the path of our God. To you I write, worthy and great women, that you may walk in it, and be of that number, which at this day, (wherein one cries, "Lo here," another, "Lo there") may lay hold on the ſkirt of the true Jew, the ſpiritual circumciſion, revealing himſelf, it may be but as "a day of ſmall things" at firſt, in your ſouls, that you may ſee him, the only rock to build upon, that your peace may be great in the Lord, when troubles are round about you. For by that ſhall the begotten of God be known, and eminently diſcovered in the days of univerſal calamity: tranquillity, patience, faith, and perſeverance, ſhall conſpicuouſly ſhine in their very countenances.

Something roſe in my heart, to write of my own convincement to you, with what entertainment I received from kindred, acquaintance, rulers, &c. the many circumſtances belonging to my converſion and travail; which, though inferior to your quality, might not be ungrateful or unſerviceable to you. But I ſee it is not to be this ſeaſon; beſides, I have been very large already, yet all along in obedience to the love and life of my God in my ſoul, being herein acted beſide all regard to worldly method, phraſe, or contrivance, unworthy of them that take in hand to write of divine things at the will and appointment of God.

I commit and commend you to the word of Jeſus, nigh in your hearts; in the holy watches of it to be kept and preſerved, that the evil-one touch you not: and that this holy word, which is Chriſt, the Son of the living God, may be brought forth in you, have room in your hearts to live and grow, till you are repleniſhed therewith. A great myſtery it is, but very true, and to the children of light very plain, 'That 'he that brings *us* forth into the regeneration, is 'brought forth *in* us: the church is born of *Chriſt*, 'and Chriſt is born of the *church:*' wherefore the apoſtle wrote to the Galatians that he "travailed in "birth again, till Chriſt was formed *in* them:" and what is this *virgin church*, but ſo many *virgin members*, that,

that, being overſhadowed by the Holy Ghoſt, conceives, and in the fulneſs of time brings forth, this glorious *man-child*, that is to rule the nations.

Wherefore, in that pure *virgin life*, live; where the ſweet overſhadowings of the holy life of Jeſus are felt, that you may continually bring forth fruits to the honour and glory of the name of the Lord; which is the way to your eternal peace.

I have but one thing more, and I take my leave of you at this time; and that is, Remember the poverty, ſimplicity, ſelf-denial, patience, and the croſs of Jeſus, I beg of you, by all that is dear and ſacred to you: ſhrink not at his baptiſm, neither ſo much as temper with any latitude, that would evade his *bitter cup*. Let not his vinegar and gall be unpleaſant, nor his crown of thorns troubleſome: nor, laſt of all, let not his nails and ſpear be terrible to you: for they that will not forſake him in his agonies, but be the companions of his tribulations, and chearfully lay down their life, and die with him to the world; they, and none elſe, ſhall riſe with him in the newneſs of life, and aſcend with him to his Father, by him to be glorified, with that glory which he had with his Father before the world began.

Unto which kingdom God Almighty conduct you, through this earthly pilgrimage, Amen.

Yours, in that love and life which reigned before ſin or death had a being.

W. P.

A SUMMONS,

A SUMMONS, OR CALL, TO CHRISTENDOM: IN

An earneſt Expoſtulation with her, to prepare for that great and notable Day of the Lord, that is at the Door.

Publiſhed in the Year 1675.

AWAKE, O Chriſtendom! Awake, and come to judgment; for the great and notable day of the Lord is drawing apace upon thee: prepare to meet him, thou and thy children, for the hour of his judgment haſteneth upon you, as travail on a woman with child, in which all your works ſhall be tried, and that by fire: for "the day of the Lord ſhall burn as an "oven, and all the proud, and all that do wickedly, "ſhall be as ſtubble." Yea, "by fire and by ſword "will the Lord God Almighty plead with all fleſh;" with all fleſhly worſhippers and workers, who live after the fleſh, to fulfill the luſts thereof: and with the ſpirit of judgment, and the ſpirit of burning, that is, with *ſpiritual* judgment and burning, will he viſit all ranks and regions upon the earth: yea, his holy ter-

rors ſhall take hold of the rebellious, and anguiſh and diſtreſs ſhall fill the ſouls of the guilty. The faces of nations ſhall gather paleneſs, and their knees ſmite together, becauſe of the anger of God that is kindling againſt them, and his fierce wrath that is revealing from heaven againſt all the ungodly, but more eſpecially againſt the children of the "Myſtery of "iniquity:" it is in this day that the kindreds of the earth ſhall mourn with a great lamentation.

O Chriſtendom! Thou haſt long ſat as a queen, that ſhould never know ſorrow: great have been thy pretences, and large thy profeſſion of God, Chriſt, Spirit, and ſcriptures: come, let me expoſtulate with thee and thy children, in the fear and preſence of him that ſhall bring every word and work to judgment. *God* is *pure*, and the pure in heart *only* ſee him: now, are you pure? Do you ſee him? *God* is a *Spirit*, and none can worſhip him aright, but ſuch as come to his *Spirit*, and obey it: do you ſo? *Chriſt* is the *gift* of God: have you received him in your hearts? Does he rule there? Then have you eternal life abiding in you: if not, you are not *true* Chriſtians. The *Spirit* of *Truth* leadeth into all truth; and the children of God are born of it, and led by it. But are you led into all the holy ways of truth, born of this eternal Spirit? Then you follow not the ſpirit of *this* world; nor do your own wills, but the will of *God*. You profeſs the holy ſcriptures; but what do you witneſs and experience? What intereſt have you in them? Can you ſet to your ſeal they are true, by the work of the ſame Spirit in you, that gave them forth in the holy ancients? What are David's roarings and praiſes to thee, that liveſt in the luſts of this world? What are Paul's and Peter's experiences to thee, that walkeſt after the fleſh?

O you, that are called Chriſtians, give ear a little unto me, for I am preſſed in ſpirit to write to you: read with patience, and conſider my words; for, behold, what I have to ſay unto you concerneth your eternal good.

"God

" God hath ſo loved the world, that he hath ſent " his only-begotten *Son* into the world, that thoſe that " believe on him, ſhould have eternal life." And this Son is Chriſt Jeſus, the true *light*, that lighteth every one coming into the world; and they that abide not in him, the *light*, dwell in *darkneſs*, in *ſin*, and are under the region and ſhadow of death: yea, *dead* in *ſin*, and ſee not their own ſtates, neither perceive the ſad conditions of their own ſouls. They are blind to the things of God's kingdom, and unſenſible of true and ſpiritual *life* and *motion*, what it is to *live* to God; and, in that ſtate, are alienated from God, without true judgment and living knowledge, and under the curſe. For in Jeſus Chriſt, the light of the world, are hid all the treaſures of wiſdom and knowledge, redemption and glory; they are hid from the worldly Chriſtian, from all that are captivated by the ſpirit and luſts of the world: and whoever would ſee them (for therein conſiſt the things that belong to their eternal peace) muſt come to Chriſt Jeſus, the true light in their conſciences, bring their deeds to him, love him and obey him; whom God hath ordained " a " light to lighten the Gentiles, and for his ſalvation " to the ends of the earth." *Light* and *ſalvation* are joined together; and none can come to ſalvation, but as they come firſt to the light, and ſubmit to the manifeſtation of it, which leadeth to ſalvation. For " the nations of them that are ſaved, ſhall walk in " the light of the Lamb, Chriſt Jeſus." *Light* and *juſtification* are alſo joined together: " If we walk in " the light, as God is in the light, the blood of Jeſus " Chriſt, his Son, cleanſeth us from all ſin." And *light* and *life eternal* are joined together: " For in the " Word (that was with God in the beginning, and " was God, by whom all things were made, that were " made) was life, and the life was the light of men." And this is the teſtimony of Jeſus, " I am the light " of the world; he that followeth me ſhall not abide " in darkneſs, but have the light of life:" yea, it is eternal life to believe in him, in Chriſt, the light; to

receive, embrace, and to follow him. And "*that* "was the *true* light," ſaith the ſame beloved diſciple, "which lighteth every man that cometh into the "world." Now this light ſhineth in *darkneſs*, in the children of darkneſs, in their dark hearts, in their black ſouls, and defiled conſciences; but in this darkneſs they comprehend it not: neither can man know the nature and benefit of it, whilſt he rebelleth againſt it: for the virtue and excellency of it is ſhut up and hid from the "children of diſobedience." To as many as received him of old, gave he power to become the children of God; and they that did his will, knew his doctrine to be of God, and of power and efficacy to their ſalvation.

But this is the great condemnation of the world at this day, that though God hath ſent his Son, a light, into the hearts of all men and women, to manifeſt and reprove their evil deeds, and to ſave them; yet they love darkneſs, they love the luſts and imaginations of their vain hearts, better than this holy light, that is given unto them for ſalvation: they chooſe Barabbas rather than Jeſus. Yea, they have ſet up other *lights*, than *Chriſt Jeſus*, God's great *light*; and other *prophets* than *Chriſt*, God's great *prophet*; and other *prieſts* than *Jeſus*, the *High Prieſt* of the new covenant: but they are *dark* lights, *falſe* prophets, and *blind* prieſts.. "All that came before me," ſaith Chriſt, "are thieves and robbers:" and all that pray, preach, ſing, worſhip, &c. and not by the light and ſpirit of Jeſus, they go *before* Chriſt, before Chriſt *cometh*, before he prepareth their hearts, and toucheth their lips, with a coal from his heavenly altar; and perform worſhip in their own will, time, and power, and ſtay not for his leadings. And therefore all ſuch rob Chriſt of his office, who is the *leader* of the true Chriſtians; their heavenly *high prieſt*, to anoint them, and offer up their ſacrifice to God for them; and *prophet*, to let them ſee and know, by his light in their hearts, what they ought to do, according to the new and everlaſting covenant; "I will write my law in their hearts,

"and

" and put my ſpirit in their inward parts, and they " ſhall be all taught of me, ſaith the Lord."

Now this is the queſtion to the whole world called Chriſtians: Do you ſee with this divine light? Have you ſearched your hearts with it? And are you anointed by this High Prieſt with his holy unction, that leadeth into all truth? Doth this heavenly prophet give you viſion, and reveal the Father to you? Is he your eye, your head, your wiſdom? Do you live, move, and have your life and being in him, in praying, preaching, and ſinging, yea, in your whole converſation? Are you renewed into his life and image? And have you heard his voice, and ſeen his ſhape? Are you witneſſes of his holy rebukes, his pure judgments, the ſhame and death of his croſs? Is he the fountain of your knowledge? The author of your faith? O conſider! are you of thoſe that have ſpoke with Jeſus? That have been taught in the ſchool of his holy croſs? Students in his heavenly academy? O have you drank of his cup, and been baptized with his baptiſm? Tell me, in the fear of the Lord God, you that call yourſelves Chriſtians, doth he go before you, and lead you, as a maſter teacheth his diſciples, and a captain leadeth his ſoldiers? And do you follow him in all the weighty things of this life? And doth he order your minds, and rule your affections? If not, you are thieves and robbers; for you rob Chriſt of his office. For God hath appointed him to be the leader and ruler of all people; yea, it is God's decree; and thoſe that he leadeth not, in their thoughts, words, and works, ſhall never come to God: for all muſt come to God *by* him, that is, by his *light* and *ſpirit* ruling in their hearts, which ſanctifieth, regenerateth, and converteth the ſoul to God.

And the cauſe of the confuſion and contention that is about religion in Europe at this day, is, that men have *deſerted* this true *light* and holy *ſpirit*, and ſo are degenerated from the life and power of pure and unſpotted religion, and have attempted to comprehend Chriſt's doctrines without Chriſt's light, and to know

the *things* of God, without the *Spirit* of God. And being thus miſerably erred, by wicked works, from the *One Spirit* of *Truth*, they have wandered into the fallible *conceits* and *opinions* of *men*. And in this ſtate one party hath contended againſt another: from *words* they have fallen to blows, and the ſtrongeſt hath oppoſed the weakeſt. And not knowing what ſpirit they were of, have called light *darkneſs*, and darkneſs *light*; putting the ſheep's ſkin upon the wolf, and the wolf's ſkin upon the poor ſheep of Chriſt, endeavouring by carnal weapons to enforce their opinions, and to extort conformity, by worldly laws and puniſhments, to their perſuaſions. All this is out of the light, life, and doctrine of Chriſt Jeſus, and in the ſpirit of darkneſs, confuſion, ſtrife, and bloodſhed, which are of the *devil*. All which Babel muſt and ſhall come down, by the *light*, *power*, and *ſpirit* of Jeſus, now riſing in the world; and hell, death, and the grave, ſhall not be able to hinder it: for the ſet time, the appointed time of the Father, is come, and the judgment is begun.

O ye, that are called *Roman Catholicks*, tell me, are you truly *catholick*, that is, of an *univerſal ſpirit?* Then you will not *perſecute*, but love all, and be tender to all. Are you truly *Roman*, and *ſucceſſors* of that ancient, apoſtolical church? Then you walk not after the *fleſh*, but after the *Spirit*; yea, the Spirit of Chriſt dwelleth *in* you, and you are led by the *Spirit* of God, and can call him *Father* in truth and righteouſneſs, and the *Word* of *God* in the heart is your teacher, and not the traditions of men; for ſo the *Romans* of old time were inſtructed. O conſider, if you are true ſucceſſors, you muſt follow them in the ſame nature, ſpirit, and life; for in that only ſtandeth the *Chriſtian ſucceſſion*, to wit, in *Chriſt:* and every *branch*, perſon, or church, that abideth not in this great *vine*, is rejected for the fire. Therefore deceive not yourſelves, as the Jews of old did, with crying, "The temple "of the Lord, the temple of the Lord;" and ſaying, "We have Abraham to our father, and to us belong "the fathers, covenants, law, prieſthood, and chair

"of

" of Moſes:" for, as the apoſtle ſaid of old, ſo ſay I to you; " His ſervants you are, to whom you obey;" and " He that committeth ſin, is of the devil." So that Chriſt's *ſucceſſors*, are they that take up his croſs, follow him, and that abide in his holy doctrine, that keep his commandments, and themſelves unſpotted from the world. And thoſe that follow the " luſt of " the eye, the luſt of the fleſh, and pride of life," are not of Chriſt, nor of the Father, but of the *world*; ſubjects to the prince of the power of the air, and ſucceſſors of Sodom, Gomorrah, Egypt, Tyre, Sidon, and perſecuting Jeruſalem; and not of the harmleſs, ſelf-denying, holy, ſuffering *ſpouſe* of *Chriſt Jeſus*, that is ruled in all things by her *huſband*, her *head*, her *Lord*. O ſearch and try, with the light of Jeſus, if you are not degenerated from primitive ſimplicity and purity? For great are the abominations of all ſects, that flow like a deluge throughout your countries! Repent, and turn to the ancient apoſtolical *ſpirit* and *life*, that you may enter into the *reſt* of *God*.

O you that call yourſelves *Evangelicks*, or *Goſpellers*, are you *evangelical?* Are you ſaved from the luſts, and pleaſures, and dead worſhips of the world, by the mighty *power* of *God*, which is the *goſpel*, and led by an evangelical ſpirit? If not, you are not yet *redeemed*, you are not yet under *grace*, which is the *goſpel ſtate*: for you are not taught by it, but rebel againſt it; how then are you true *goſpellers*, men of *goſpel-liberty*, men of deliverance and redemption; to whom immortality is brought to light, (as it is to all that truly know and receive the bleſſed *goſpel*) that are yet ſubjects and ſervants to *ſin?* How can you ſing the *ſong* of the Lamb, that are not yet *delivered* by the Lamb; but, by your vain converſations, crucify the Lamb, and do deſpite to the Spirit of grace, and that every day? The true goſpellers are thoſe that receive the *angel's meſſage*, who is the great preacher of the everlaſting goſpel, viz. " Fear God, give glory to his name, for " the hour of his judgment is come; and no more " worſhip the beaſt." Do you fear God, in truth and

in ſincerity? Then are you fearful of offending the Lord, and tender of God's glory; then are your hearts kept clean, then are you wiſe to ſalvation; and ſo you can glorify God indeed: otherwiſe, your prayers and praiſes are not *evangelical* in God's ſight.

But tell me, O ye Goſpellers, is the hour of his judgment come to you? Is it begun at your houſes yet? How do you feel it? Hath it broke your hearts? Hath it contrited your ſpirits? Have ye known the godly ſorrow? The chaſtiſements of the Lord, and rebukes of the Almighty? Hath his pure eternal word divided yet betwixt your ſoul and ſpirit, the joints and marrow? Have you ever been *weary* and *heavy laden* with ſin; hath it been a burden to you? Did you ever cry out, in the agony of your ſpirits yet, "Men "and brethren, what ſhall we do to be ſaved? O! "who ſhall deliver us from the body of ſin here, "and the wrath to come!" (the travail of the holy ancients): if not, you are yet ſtrangers to Chriſt and his kingdom: and if you die in that ſtate, where he is gone, you ſhall never come. "For Sion," God's city, "muſt be redeemed through judgments, and her "converts through righteouſneſs: yea, the houſe of "God cannot eſcape it:" wherefore ſaid one of old, "If judgment begin at the houſe of God, where ſhall "the ſinner and ungodly appear?" O wo to them that live without the judgments of the Lord! Wo to them that caſt his reproofs behind their backs, and live in earthly pleaſures, fatting up themſelves in luſts and pleaſures, as for the day of ſlaughter, and treaſuring up wrath againſt the day of wrath. O the ancient ſaints lived not thus; they wrought out their ſalvation with "fear and trembling;" yea, they gave all diligence, to make their calling and election ſure: which way do you work out yours? Habakkuk, that holy prophet, "his lips quivered, and his belly trembled, "that his ſoul might reſt in the day of trouble:" is this your ſtate? Or, are you not rather worſhippers of the *beaſt* at this day, lovers of the worldly, ſenſual, voluptuous life, walking in the luſts of the eye, the

luſts

luſts of the fleſh, and the pride of life; like rebellious Iſrael of old, "forgetting God days without number?" But this know, that "all that *forget* God ſhall be "turned into hell."

O! what is become of the fatherly viſitation made to your progenitors, thoſe good beginnings ſown in perſecutions and martyrdoms? Have you anſwered the loving-kindneſs of God therein? Have you advanced in the way of righteouſneſs? Are you become an holy nation, and a peculiar people of God, zealous of good works? But have you not betaken yourſelves to the wiſdom and learning of this world to make *miniſters*, and deſerted the *Spirit* of the *Lord*, and fled to the power and policy of this world, to defend and protect you, and not to the *name* of the *Lord*, which hath always been the ſtrong tower of the righteous? Nay, are you not divided one againſt another, and turned perſecutors for religion yourſelves, denying that liberty to others, you took for yourſelves? Ah! where is the royal law of "doing as you would be done unto?"

Thus have you decayed and degenerated into a worldly *clergy*, and a carnal *people*; holding and maintaining reformed words, in an unreformed ſpirit. Yea, are not the ſame evils, pride, paſſion, malice, wars, bloodſhed, perſecution, deceit, fleſhly luſts, wantonneſs, vain pleaſures and ſports, yea, all manner of worldly-mindedneſs, to be found in you, that were in the perſecutors of your fore-fathers, and againſt which your moſt ſerious and beſt anceſtors faithfully teſtified? So that the difference now is about words and ſentences, and not about the life, nature and ſpirit of "pure and undefiled religion:" and men are to be known now by their denominations and ſubſcriptions to certain human creeds, man-made faiths and forms, and not by the ſpirit and image of Chriſt Jeſus, by the nature of the true ſheep, and by that holy unction, that was the bond of the heavenly fellowſhip of the ſaints of old.

And you, that are called *reformed*, with the reſt of the ſubdivided ſects, what better are you for your names?

names? Are ye regenerated yet? Are you reformed from the luſt of the eye, the luſt of the fleſh, and the pride of life; from the devil, and all his works? Are you born of the incorruptible ſeed, that liveth and abideth for ever? And are you come out of the corruptible things, and doth Chriſt lead you? Is the government of your ſouls upon his ſhoulders? Tell me, is it the *new* birth, that which is born of God through many tribulations, the *new* man created in Chriſt Jeſus, that calleth God *Father* in your prayers, and that maketh mention of him in your preachings? Or is it the *firſt* birth, of the *earth*, *earthly*, the old man, the corrupt and unregenerated nature, that which is born of the fleſh, that is to ſay, of the ſeed of the evil-one, the father of all the fleſhly luſts, inventions, imaginations and traditions of men, that taketh pleaſure in the vain and wicked ſports and pleaſures of this apoſtate world, that forget God, and turn his grace into wantonneſs, reproaching, nicknaming, and perſecuting the children of regeneration, with ſcornful names, and cruel puniſhments, calling God Father, as the Jews did; and crucifying Chriſt afreſh by a vain converſation, at the ſame time.

O you degenerated Chriſtians of all ſorts, yea, all the ſeveral ſects in Chriſtendom, that have deſerted your firſt love, and degenerated from the life and power of primitive godlineſs, with the light of Chriſt Jeſus in your hearts, examine yourſelves. "God hath "lighted your candle," ſearch and try yourſelves; ſee how it ſtandeth with you as to your eternal condition, before you go hence, and be no more in this world. Conſider, are you in the true faith of Chriſt, or not? For without true faith none can pleaſe God; and without pleaſing *him*, no man can be ſaved. The devils believe, yea, and *tremble* too; that is more than thouſands called Chriſtians do, and ſo far they are ſhort of the very devils. Have you *faith?* Let us try it, in the name of God. What is it for faith? Doth it overcome the world? Doth it live, and depend, upon God? Can it forſake country and kindred? Turn out Iſhmael?

Iſhmael? Offer up Iſaac? Live a pilgrim, a ſtranger in the world? Doth it work by that love, which can forſake all for Chriſt's name ſake? Doth it fight againſt the devil? Reſiſt his fiery darts? Overcome his aſſaults and temptations? And, finally, purify the ſoul to God's uſe? Is this your faith, O you carnal, outſide Chriſtians? No ſuch matter; for you live in the fleſh, fulfilling the luſts thereof; and your care is, what you ſhall eat, drink, and put on, and how you ſhall get the mammon, friendſhip, and glory, of this world. Examine yourſelves, and prepare, for the day of the Lord haſteneth upon you. And have a care, leſt you partake of the plagues that God hath prepared for Babylon; ſhe that calleth herſelf the "*Lamb*'s bride," and is an harlot, committing fornication throughout all nations and ſects; that is, thoſe who, by a *lying ſpirit*, have had their hearts ſeduced from God and his holy fear, yet in words profeſſed to be his people; who call themſelves *Jews*, but are not; *Chriſtians*, and are not, but of the ſynagogue of Satan; being ſtrangers to the circumciſion in *ſpirit*, and the baptiſm that is with *fire*, and with the *Holy Ghoſt:* with *fire*, to conſume the fleſhly nature; and with the *Holy Ghoſt*, to beget the heavenly nature in man. O the downfall of this great city, and the deſolation of this falſe church through all the ſects in Chriſtendom, is come, and coming! yea, in *one* day ſhall it be accompliſhed, even in the day of the appearance of Chriſt, who is the ſecond Adam, the Lord from heaven, who, by the "brightneſs of his coming," and by the "breath of "his mouth," in the hearts of nations, ſhall reveal, and deſtroy, this great Antichriſt, this man of ſin, *in man*, that ſitteth in the place of God, yea, exalted above all that is called God, requiring conformity to all his inventions and injunctions, upon pain of life, liberty, and eſtate: nor are any ſuffered to buy or ſell in this great city, but ſuch as will "receive his "mark."

Wo to you all, in the name of the Lord, that call God your Father, and are not *born* of him; that name his

his name, and hate to be reformed: that call Jeſus *Lord*, and not by the *Holy Ghoſt*; who take his pure name into your mouths, and depart not from iniquity. I ſay to you, on God's behalf, as God ſaid to the Jews of old; "Your prayers, your ſacrifices, and your ſo-"lemn aſſemblies, &c. in an unconverted ſtate, are "abomination to the Lord." No matter for your names, your pretences, your creeds, if you live without *God* in the world; that is, without his holy awe in your hearts, without a divine ſenſe of his preſence in your ſouls, and know not that godly ſorrow, that worketh unfeigned repentance, the only way to eternal life. Your worſhip God loatheth: a dog's neck, ſwine's blood, yea, to bleſs an idol, or kill a man, is altogether as acceptable with the Lord. O! God is wroth with the feigned worſhips, as well as common ungodlineſs, of the world: come to Chriſt's Spirit, be led of it; and do not your own wills, but the will of Chriſt Jeſus; and then you ſhall know the true worſhip. For the true miniſtry and worſhip of God, ſtand not in the will, wiſdom, or appointment of men; nor can they be performed by unregenerated men, but in the leadings of his eternal Spirit, by whom all the faithful offer up themſelves an acceptable ſacrifice to God, not to live unto themſelves, but to him that hath purchaſed them. It is true, Chriſt Jeſus died for the ungodly, but not that they ſhould *continue* ungodly, but take up his daily croſs, and follow him. "Chriſt," ſaith Peter, "ſuffered for us, leaving us an "example, that we ſhould follow his ſteps:" as *he* was in this world, ſo *we* ſhould be; not conformable to the rudiments, faſhions, and cuſtoms of this world, that paſs away; but transformed and renewed in our minds, by the grace that he hath given us: which grace bringeth ſalvation to all that obey it; teaching ſuch to deny all ungodlineſs, and worldly luſts, and to live ſoberly, righteouſly, and godly in this preſent evil world: becauſe, "without holineſs, none ſhall "ever ſee the Lord:" that is God's decree.

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Wherefore be you not deceived, O you formal and titular Chriſtians; God "will not be mocked: ſuch "as you ſow, ſuch ſhall you reap at the hand of the "Lord: yea, for every idle word ſhall you give an "account in the day of judgment." Think not with yourſelves, you have Chriſt to your Saviour, and you are reconciled to God through *Chriſt*, and that God looketh not upon you as you are in *yourſelves*, but as in *Chriſt*; whilſt you walk not after the *Spirit*, but after the *fleſh*: "For the wages of ſin is death; but "the gift of God is eternal life, through Jeſus Chriſt "our Lord?" To whom? Not to them that deſpiſe *his light* in their hearts, that grieve his *Spirit*, and, by a worldly converſation, go on to crucify him; and who follow not Jeſus in the way of tribulation and regeneration. "God is of purer eyes than to behold "iniquity;" and he looketh upon men and women to be what they really *are*, and not what they *imagine* themſelves to be: "Behold he cometh, and his reward "is with him, and he will reward all according to "their works." Sinners, while ſuch, can no more come into *Chriſt*, than into *God*; for God is in *Chriſt*, and Chriſt is in *God*: Chriſt is holy, harmleſs, pure, and undefiled, and ſeparate from ſinners. And if ever you would have God look upon you to be in Chriſt, you muſt come *into* Chriſt: and you can never come into *Chriſt*, the new and heavenly man, that is undefiled, and ſeparated from ſinners, till you come out of *ſin*, and the *author* of it, the *devil*, the old man of ſin, and leave your wicked deeds of darkneſs.

Therefore, be ye ſeparate from every evil way: Chriſt, the immaculate Lamb of God, came not only to ſave men from wrath, but from ſin, which is the cauſe of wrath. "Behold the Lamb of God," ſaith John, "which taketh away the ſin of the world:" not their ſin that will not *believe* in him, but the ſins of thoſe that are *weary* and heavy *laden*, that wait, hunger, thirſt, and cry for his ſalvation; whom God hath given for a light to lighten the Gentiles, and for his ſalvation to the ends of the earth. O you that

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are called by his ſacred name, repent, repent! Prepare, prepare to meet the Lord, who is coming, in the way of his judgments, to viſit the inhabitants of the earth; and put away the evil of your doings, and turn to him, that he may receive you.

But wo, in the name of the Lord, to all that *rebel* againſt the light of Chriſt Jeſus, who ſerve another maſter, and follow another captain, and obey the prince of the power of the air, who reigneth in the hearts of the children of diſobedience. Yea, "Wo unto "all, who are covered with a covering, and not of "my Spirit; that take counſel, and not of me," ſaith the Lord: "who gather ſticks, and kindle a fire of "their own, and compaſs themſelves about in the "ſparks which they have kindled; for this ſhall they "have at my hand, They ſhall lie down in *ſorrow*."

Wo, from God, to all the will-worſhippers, who worſhip, but not in the *Spirit* and in the *truth*; their worſhip is not available. He that worſhips God aright is turned to the Spirit, and is taught and led by the Spirit. And ſuch as have received the Spirit of Chriſt are not led by their *own* ſpirits, nor by the ſpirit of this world, nor according to the inventions and traditions of men: neither do they conform themſelves to the cuſtoms and faſhions of this world, nor will they bow to the glory of this world, or the god of it. But having ſeen *him*, whom they have pierced with their vain converſation in times paſt, they mourn, and are in great bitterneſs, becauſe they have done deſpite to his Holy Spirit of grace, that ſtrove ſo long with them for their redemption. And being called, by his ſpiritual call in their hearts, to come out of *Babylon*, the great city of will-worſhip, confuſion, and darkneſs, that is in the earth, do chearfully reſign up all, to follow him in the narrow way of ſelf-denial, as his holy diſciples did of old. And ſuch have learned, by good experience, that without *Chriſt* they can do nothing: though in theſe days ſcarcely any thing is done *with* him, or *by* him. For he is reſiſted, in his *ſpiritual appearance*, in the conſciences of thoſe that

that make only a profeſſion of him with their mouths, and therefore he doth not many mighty works *in* them: yea, he is ſmitten, ſpit upon, crowned with thorns, pierced and crucified, of all falſe Chriſtians, through their rebellion and wickedneſs.

O wo, from the great and juſt God, that made heaven and earth, upon all people that work iniquity, and forget God! Wo to you, kings and princes, that have crucified the "Lord of life and glory;" yea, you have crucified him in yourſelves, and helped to crucify him in others: he lieth ſlain at this day in your ſtreets. For you have not ruled for *God*, as you ought to have done, but for *yourſelves*, to pleaſe your own luſts; and have not ſought the glory of the Lord, nor the proſperity of his work in the earth, ſo much as the greatneſs of your own names, and to enlarge your worldly dominions; often oppreſſing the poor, and perſecuting conſcientious Diſſenters; but ſuffering almoſt all manner of vice and vanity to go unpuniſhed. How doth the luſt of the eye, the luſt of the fleſh, and the pride of life, reign in your territories? Are not your courts the very ſchools of vanity, and nurſeries of worldly luſts and pleaſures, which war againſt the ſoul, and lead to eternal deſtruction? O! you have much to anſwer for before the great God, at the day of his terrible tribunal, who have power in your hands to chaſe away wickedneſs, and to reform the world. It is written, "A king upon his throne of judgment "ſcattereth all evil with his eye:" O that the kings and princes of the world knew this throne of true judgment! that they had this godlike majeſty, that they would purge their lands of evil-doers, that they and their people might eſcape the wrath and vengeance of God, that is ready to be poured forth upon them!

And wo to you, nobles of the earth, that ſpend your eſtates in pleaſures, and your days in vanity, that, like thoſe of old, "drink wine in bowls, and ſtretch "yourſelves upon couches of ivory: that invent mu-"ſical inſtruments for your mirth, but remember not "the afflictions of Joſeph, neither conſider of your

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"latter end." What pride, luſt, and exceſs lie at your doors! What ſpoil and waſte do you make in the world! You live as if you ſhould never die; caring only what you ſhould eat, what you ſhould drink, and what you ſhould put on; how you ſhould trim, perfume, and beautify your poor mortal ſelves, and at which plays and ſports you ſhould divert and ſpend away that troubleſome and melancholy thing called *time*, as you eſteem it, inſtead of "*redeeming* the *time*, "becauſe the days are evil," and preparing for the eternal judgment. Is *this* the way to glory? Did Jeſus give you this example? O! he is crucified by theſe things! This is far from the true nobility, and Chriſtian honour, that cometh from above.

Wo to you, judges of the earth, who pervert judgment for a reward, that oppreſs the poor, and deſpiſe the cauſe of the needy; who regard the mighty and the rich in judgment, and delay juſtice for the fear or favour of man. That ſubject the laws to your wills, and righteous rules to your paſſions and intereſt. Repent, and be juſt; for God, the juſt God, the great Judge of heaven and earth, ſhall judge you all according to your works: and dreadful ſhall that day of his reckoning and tribunal be, to all the workers of iniquity; but eſpecially to *unjuſt* and *corrupt judges*.

And wo to you, lawyers, that refuſe no cauſe for *money*; but will plead even againſt law, truth, and juſtice, for advantage; teaching your tongues to advocate for a lie, and your mouths for gain, to plead the cauſe of unrighteouſneſs; raiſing unreaſonable wealth unto yourſelves, by the folly, ignorance, and contention of the people. O the equivocation, deceit, falſehood, and iniquity, that is in your profeſſion, in which you let your conſciences out to hire at every ſummons, for all ſorts of cauſes: inſomuch, that it is the money, and not the cauſe, that prevaileth. And the *worſt* cauſe moſt commonly is moſt deſired, becauſe the client, doubtful of his ſucceſs, is uſually the moſt *liberal* to you. This alſo is for judgment.

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And wo to you, merchants and traders, that have not the Lord's fear before your eyes, whoſe god is *gold* and *gain*; that neither buy nor ſell with regard to his juſt principle in your conſciences; that uſe vain and deceitful words, and that are not come to the juſt meaſure, and the righteous balance, but uſe frauds for advantage: that neither eye the Lord's providence by ſea, nor his care by land; but day and night caſt about how to raiſe to yourſelves a great name and eſtate, to exalt your neſts, and rank your families among the rich and the noble of the earth! The Lord will alſo plead with you: repent, and fear before God.

Wo to you, farmers and countrymen, that reward the Lord evil for good, who giveth you increaſe of all things in their proper ſeaſons, yet you diſcern not his hand, you regard not his care; you live "*without* "God in the world:" yet no life is fuller of the Lord's providence, who preſerveth and proſpereth your flocks, who increaſeth your wine, your corn, and your graſs; inſtead of remembering his goodneſs with reverence, and in your harveſts praiſing him with fear, you ſacrifice to your luſts, and rejoice only in your fulneſs; making merry at your harveſts, without the fear of God, or looking to him, that giveth you to increaſe. Repent, and fear before the God of the whole earth.

But, above all others, wo to you ſcribes, phariſees, and hypocrites, you prieſts and paſtors, who have taken a charge that God never *gave* you; who run, and he never *ſent* you; who ſay, "Thus ſaith the Lord," and he never ſpoke *to* you, or *by* you: that ſteal the words of the prophets and apoſtles, and with them make *merchandize* to the people, not knowing the pure *word* of *God* in your hearts to be as an hammer, a fire, a ſword, to deſtroy ſin, and to purge, redeem, and reconcile you to God; but boaſt in other mens lines, and ſpeak things made ready to your hands: that "teach for *hire*, and divine for *money*;" who ſeek honour of men, and love the uppermoſt places at feaſts:

who ſpeak peace to the wicked, and ſew pillows under their elbows for reward: pleaſers of men, more than pleaſers of God. Wo to you, in the name of the Lord, that *counterfeit* his commiſſion, and deceive the people, requiring their money for that which is not bread, and their labour for that which doth not profit: at your doors lieth the blood of ſouls, in which you have traded. O you phyſicians of no value, whom have you cured? Where is the ſeal of your miniſtry? Is it not an abominable cheat, that you take *money* to cure, yet *cannot* cure; that have *no medicine* to cure; and, at laſt, maintain, that the diſeaſe is *incurable?* You are they, that will neither enter into the kingdom yourſelves, nor ſuffer others. For whenever we have ſeen your deluſions, and deſerted your aſſemblies, preſently a "packet of letters" muſt be ſent to "Da-"maſcus:" the magiſtrate muſt be called upon to be jailer and hangman for the prieſt. What wars, changes, and perſecutions ever befel the world, ſince you had a being, in which you have not been at head or tail? O your practices ſhall more and more come to light: and the day haſteneth, that your very name and calling (as *now* held) ſhall be had in abhorrence by the nations. O you numerous offspring of the great falſe prophet, that hath been a liar from the beginning; hereby is it known that God hath never *ſent* you, that you "have not *profited* the people;" they are God's words by the prophet Jeremy. Weep and howl, for the day of your great calamity haſteneth upon you! your father and mother are come into remembrance before the Lord, the hour of their judgment is at the door. God will fill you the cup of his fury; you ſhall drink it at his hand.

O! I cannot but cry aloud to you all, of all ranks and qualities, from the higheſt to the loweſt, that walk not after the Spirit, but after the fleſh, daily fulfilling the luſts thereof; that you would repent, and be ſaved. O how hath Chriſt's religion been profaned, and his holy name blaſphemed, by the lewd life of profeſſed

profeſſed Chriſtians! the very heathens are ſcandalized, and the nations round about have you in ſcorn and deriſion. "Ariſe, O God, for thy name's ſake!" O what tremendous oaths and lies! what revenge and murders, what drunkenneſs and gluttony! what pride and luxury! what chamberings and wantonneſs! what fornications, rapes, and adulteries! what maſks and revels! what luſtful ornaments, and enchanting attires! what proud cuſtoms, and vain compliments! what ſports and pleaſures! what plays and romances! what intrigues and paſtimes! Again, what falſeneſs and treachery! what avarice and oppreſſion! what flattery and hypocriſy! what malice and ſlander! what contention and law-ſuits! what wars and bloodſhed! what plunders, fires, and deſolations! And it is not only committed by Chriſtians in *general* one againſt another, but by Chriſtians of the *ſame faith*, *ſect*, and *church*, one againſt another; praying to the ſame God to *deſtroy* one another; and ſinging pſalms to God, when they have wickedly deſtroyed one another. O the rapes, fires, murders, and rivers of blood, that lie at the doors of profeſſed Chriſtians! If this be *godly*, what is *deviliſh?* If this be *chriſtian*, what is *paganiſh?* What is *anti-chriſtian*, but to make God a *party* to their wickedneſs? O profanation! O blaſphemy! what need is there of any other demonſtration, that Chriſtendom is foully apoſtatized from the doctrine and example of Chriſt Jeſus, and his true followers, who ſaith, "If "ye love me, keep my commandments. By this ſhall "all men know that ye are my diſciples, if ye have "love one to another." And John ſaith, "Whoſoever "doth not love his brother, is not of God; and who-"ſoever hateth his brother, is a murderer; and ye "know, that no murderer hath eternal life abiding "in him." And it is not to be ſuppoſed that they kill one another in love; for murder is not the effect of love and brotherly-kindneſs, but of malice, envy, and revenge. O Chriſtendom! how art thou, and thy children, degenerated from God, and fallen from the

doctrine of Chriſt, whoſe holy name thou profeſſeſt! Thou art become a city full of uncleanneſs, committing whoredom under every green tree; following other lovers than Jeſus, whoſe ſpouſe thou profeſſeſt to be. O thou rebellious city, thou cage of unclean birds, thou and thy children have filled the earth with the ſtink of your abominations!

O how expert have you been in theſe impieties! how ingenious to work wickedneſs, and how fruitful in your inventions to gratify the luſt of the eye, the luſt of the fleſh, and the pride of life! O how hath the heathen nature, as an evil leaven, prevailed, and leavened the great body of Chriſtians at this day; as if the end of Chriſt's coming into the world had been to furniſh us with a new profeſſion, but not to give us a new nature; to learn men to *talk*, and not to *live*; to cry "Hoſanna," but in works to crucify him. What did the heathens, that Chriſtians have not done? Yea, the ſame luſts, vanities, and impieties, that reigned among them, are to be found improved among Chriſtians. So that it is *paganiſm* made *free* of the *Chriſtian profeſſion*, or *heatheniſm chriſtianed*: and *not to conform* to the *heathen* in the Chriſtian, is not to be a *Chriſtian*, but an *heathen*. O the ignorance, as well as wickedneſs, of the preſent Chriſtian world! Verily, the *Chriſtian life* is oppreſſed under this maſs of darkneſs and impiety, found in the converſation of apoſtate *Chriſtians*, even as *Chriſt* was grieved and burdened with the darkneſs and obſtinacy of the apoſtate *Jews*. And as the hard-heartedneſs of the *falſe Jews* crucified him *outwardly*, ſo hath the hard-heartedneſs of the *falſe Chriſtians* crucified him *inwardly*: which hath fulfilled what is recorded in the Apocalypſe, viz. "That the Lord was crucified in Sodom "and Egypt, ſpiritually ſo called:" for the *falſe Chriſtians* are the ſpiritual Sodom and Egypt, who love and live in Sodom's ſins, and Egypt's luſts and pleaſures. Yea, they are of the race of them that ſtoned the prophets, and crucified the Lord of glory; of the

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ſame nature and ſpirit. O the blood of Jeſus lieth at their doors, ſhed, ſpilt, and trod under foot of them, and will one day cry for eternal vengeance againſt them, if they repent not with unfeigned ſorrow, and turn to the Lord with their whole hearts: certainly, wo, anguiſh, and tribulation, ſhall be their portion for ever! THAT which *they* have grieved, ſhall grieve *them*; and THAT which *they* have bruiſed and reſiſted, ſhall reject and torment *them*; yea, it ſhall be a never-dying worm, and an endleſs pain, to them. O wo to the worker of iniquity in that day! wo to the ſlothful ſervant! wo to the mocker and ſcoffer! wo to the drunkard and unclean perſon! wo to them that ſpend their days in vanity, and their life in earthly pleaſures! wo to the proud phariſee, and diſdainful ſcribe! wo to the fearful and unbelieving! wo to idolaters and liars! yea, and wo from God to all the cruel perſecutors of the innocent lambs and ſheep of Jeſus, for their pure conſcience to him! for they ſhall have their part in the lake that burneth with fire and brimſtone, which is the "ſecond death."

O that you might eſcape this great damnation! and I teſtify to you, in the word of the Lord, that God giveth unto you all a day of viſitation, in which you may eſcape the wrath to come. For this end, God hath ſent his Son a light into your hearts; it is *he* which manifeſteth all your thoughts, words, and deeds unto you; it is *he*, which checks and reproveth you; yea, it is *he*, which expoſtulateth and ſtriveth with you; it is *he*, that knocketh at your doors, and awakeneth you to judgment; who condemneth every unfruitful thought, word, and work in you. Repent, I exhort you; turn to him, hear his voice, and harden not your hearts; but while it is *to-day*, and the light *ſhineth*, and the ſpirit *ſtriveth*, O humble yourſelves, bear his judgments, love his reproofs. And though his word be as a fire in your hearts, and though you are even *ſcorched* within you, becauſe of the heat thereof, yet bear the indignation of the Lord, in that you

have ſinned againſt him. Wait, watch, and walk in the light of the Lord Jeſus, that in his blood you may feel remiſſion of ſins, and ſanctification unto life eternal: that you may no more walk after the fleſh, to fulfil the luſts thereof, but in the ſpirit of holineſs; that you may be ſealed unto the day of redemption. O the peace, the joy, the pleaſure, and the undeclarable comfort, that is daily met with in the holy and righteous way of the Lord!

O this riſeth powerfully in my ſoul, 'That *his* form 'hath no comelineſs in it, that will pleaſe fleſh; *his* 'way and worſhip is moſt remote from it. Fleſh and 'blood have no ſhare in *his* worſhip; the will and 'runnings of man have no part in *his* way.' It is neither at the mountain, where one ſort runneth; nor at Jeruſalem, whither another ſort goeth; but in ſpirit, within the vail, hid from fleſh and blood; yea, there it is that his worſhip is known and performed. Any form is more pleaſant than this: *his* viſage is more marred than any man's. All *will-worſhip*, all *human invention*, findeth acceptance, where *he* cannot find a place to lay his head on. O this is a bitter cup to the creature; few will drink it! they are hard to be perſuaded to *ſit ſtill*, and patiently to *wait* for the ſalvation of God, to let *him* work all their works in them and for them. They know not what it is, to have the "mouth in the duſt, to have all fleſh *ſilent* before the "Lord, that the voice of God may be heard; that "he may prepare them, and that the will of God "may be brought forth in them." O this myſtery of iniquity, how hath it wrought, and how doth it yet work! It claimeth a right to the living child; but ſhe hath no right to it; ſhe is the womb of death, and can bring forth no living fruit to God. All nations have drank her cup. But the hour of her judgment is come. She is ſeen, diſveiled, and condemned by the living Spirit of God, that is felt, and received, and obeyed by a remnant, who are gathered from the mouths of idle ſhepherds, and all the errings and

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ſtrayings of falſe prophets, that have no viſion; and are come to the Lord, to know his law in their hearts, and fear and ſpirit to be in their inward parts, and are taught and led by him. And theſe follow the Lamb, and are his hoſt this day, that fight under his banner, with his holy teſtimony, againſt the whore, falſe prophet, and beaſt. And behold they ſhall prevail: for greater is he that is in them, than he that is in the world.

O this is a great myſtery, but a greater truth: *Moſes*, the ſervant, is, externally, more comely than HE: yea, the prophets were as pleaſant ſingers, and as delightful inſtruments of muſick; their viſions, ſights, and glorious prophecies of the laſt days, and new-covenant times, were (ſays one of them of old) as a pleaſant ſong: but the SON, the ſubſtance, when he came, had no beauty, no excellency, no comelineſs. What is the matter? The way is narrow for fleſh and blood; there is a croſs muſt be taken up, a bitter cup drank, and a baptiſm, yea, of blood, gone through. Man muſt die to his own will, affections, imaginations, and carnal conceptions; he muſt wait and watch, yea, continually: his own religion and righteouſneſs is as odious as his ſin and iniquity, yea, in a ſenſe, more dangerous. It is no outſide will do; not that which pleaſeth the buſy, active will and mind of the creature, that gratifieth the external ſenſes, that have prevailed againſt the ſoul: O no; it is an hidden life, an hidden temple, an hidden worſhip, and that in God's time; yea, an hidden manna, an hidden ſupper, not diſcernible by the vain ſects of this world. Of this tabernacle is JESUS builder; of this covenant and worſhip is he author; of this altar is he prieſt: to this did he gather his of old, and to this is he gathering the nations. "And the bride ſaith, Come; and the Spirit "ſaith, Come; and he ſaith, Come:" and bleſſed are they that come, and ſee how good he is.

But ſuch who, like Sodom of old, go on to grieve the Spirit of the Lord, to rebel againſt his light, and

vex God's juſt *Lot*, that liveth in the midſt of them, perſiſting in their luſts and abominations, God's angel ſhall ſmite them with blindneſs: the day of their viſitation ſhall paſs away, and the forbearance of God ſhall be at an end, and fire from heaven ſhall devour them. Which with my ſoul I fervently and tenderly deſire you may all eſcape, whom God hath taught to hate your ſin, deny your glory, and ſeparate from all your falſe worſhips, by his own light, ſpirit, and truth, and to follow his dear SON in the way of regeneration; whoſe love to me hath taught me to love all mankind, and to ſeek their ſalvation.

WILLIAM PENN.

Amſterdam, the 20th of the 8th month, 1677.

TENDER

TENDER COUNSEL and ADVICE,

BY WAY OF

EPISTLE,

To all thoſe who are ſenſible of their DAY of VISITATION, and who have received the CALL of the LORD, by the Light and Spirit of his SON in their Hearts, to partake of the great Salvation, wherever ſcattered throughout the World.

FAITH, HOPE, and CHARITY, which overcome the World, be multiplied amongſt you.

Publiſhed in the Year 1677.

MY DEARLY-BELOVED FRIENDS,

WHO are ſenſible of the day of your viſitation, by the light of the Lord Jeſus in your hearts, and who have gladly received the holy teſtimony thereof, by which you have beheld the great apoſtacy, that is in the world, from the life, power, and Spirit of God, and the groſs degeneracy that is amongſt thoſe called Chriſtians, from the purity, ſelf-denial, and holy example of Chriſt Jeſus, and his primitive followers; and how pride, luſt, and vanity reign, and how Chriſtendom is become a cage of unclean birds: who

who have mourned under the ſenſe thereof, and have cried in your ſouls, "How long, how long, how long, "O Lord God holy and true, will it be, ere thou "takeſt to thyſelf thy great power, and reigneſt!" To whom the world is become a burden, and the vanities and glories of it but "vexation of ſpirit:" who deſpiſe the things that are ſeen, which are temporal, for the ſake of the things that are not ſeen, which are eternal: whoſe eyes look through and beyond time and mortality, to that eternal city, whoſe builder and maker is GOD: whoſe daily cries and travails are to follow JESUS in the way of regeneration; to live as pilgrims in this world, for the ſake of that glory which ſhall hereafter be revealed, that can never fade away, that you may attain unto the eternal reſt of God: to you, my dear friends, to you it is, that the God and Father of him that was dead, and is alive, and liveth for evermore, "Chriſt Jeſus, the faithful "and true witneſs," who hath loved and viſited my ſoul, hath now moved upon my ſpirit to write, and viſit you with this epiſtle. Receive it then, and with it the endeared ſalutation of that love and life which are not of this world, but overcome the world. Great and frequent are my travails for you, that you may perſevere, and not faint, but endure to the end; that you may obtain that glorious ſalvation and redemption that is in Chriſt Jeſus. Yea, for this are my knees bended before the God of the ſpirits of all fleſh, that you may be entirely kept; "that you may ſo run, as "you may obtain; and ſo fight, as you may over-"come;" that an immortal crown and kingdom may be your portion, when all ſins and ſorrows ſhall be done away.

And that this you may do, hear my exhortation to you in the ſpirit of truth. Dwell in the *ſenſe* that God hath begotten in your hearts by the *light* and *ſpirit* of his *Son*, who is now *in you*, reconciling you unto himſelf. Watch, that this bleſſed ſenſe be preſerved in you, and it will preſerve you. For where the holy ſenſe is loſt, profeſſion, even of the higheſt truths, cannot

cannot preſerve againſt the enemy's aſſaults; but the gates of hell will prevail againſt them, and the enemy's darts will wound them, and they will be carried again captive by the power of his temptations. Wherefore, I ſay again, live and abide in that light and life which hath viſited you, and begotten an holy ſenſe in your hearts, and which hath made ſin exceeding ſinful to you, and you weary and heavy-laden under the burden of it; and hath raiſed in you a ſpiritual travail, hunger and thirſt after your Saviour, that he might deliver you; that ye might be filled with the righteouſneſs of his kingdom, that is without end.

Dear friends, God hath breathed the breath of *life* in you, and in meaſure you live; for *dead* men and women do not hear, or hunger, or thirſt; neither do they feel weights and burdens, as you do. The day of the Lord is dawned upon you, and it burneth as an oven; you know it; and all workers of iniquity are as ſtubble before it: you feel it ſo, they cannot ſtand before the Lord: his judgments take hold of them, and conſume them. O love his judgments! that with thoſe of old you may ſay, "In the way of thy judg-"ments, O Lord, have we waited for thee; the de-"ſire of our ſoul is to thy name, and to the remem-"brance of thee. With our ſouls have we deſired "thee in the night, yea, with our ſpirits within us "will we ſeek thee early: for when thy judgments "are in the earth, the inhabitants of the world will "learn righteouſneſs." Part, part with all, my dear friends, that is for judgment; let *him* ariſe in your hearts, that *his* and *your* enemies may be ſcattered; that you may witneſs him to be ſtronger in you, than he that is in the world. If the deſire of your ſoul be to his name, and the remembrance of him, you will love his judgments, and abide there the days he alloweth for your purification. Behold his bleſſed viſitation is upon you: his angel hath ſaluted you, and his Holy Spirit hath overſhadowed you: he hath begotten holy deſires in you; I pray that they may never be extinguiſhed, and that you may never faint.

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Wherefore look to Jeſus, that is the Author, that he may be the Finiſher. I teſtify for God, he has *appeared* to you; yea, he hath ſaid to you, as to Andrew, Philip, &c. "Follow me:" and I ſay unto you, Follow him: come and ſee where he dwelleth; do not loſe ſight of him; let him be lifted up in you, and your eye be to him: who, wherever he is *lifted up*, draweth all ſuch after him. And this is the reaſon why people are not now drawn after Chriſt, becauſe he is not lifted up in their hearts, he is not exalted in their ſouls: he is rejected, oppreſſed, crucified, and buried; yea, they have rolled a ſtone upon him, and ſet guards, that he ſhould not riſe in them to judge them.

But bleſſed are you, whoſe eyes have ſeen one of the days of the Son of Man: bleſſed are you, at whoſe doors he hath knocked, to whoſe hearts he hath appeared, who have received his holy viſitation, who believe it is *he*, and not another; and therefore have ſaid in your hearts, with Nathaniel of old, "Thou art "the Son of God, thou art the King of Iſrael;" and with Thomas, "My Lord, and my God." O what have you, my dear friends, to do, but to keep with him for ever! for whither ſhould you go, the words of eternal life dwell with him? He is full of grace, and full of truth, and of his fulneſs ye have received grace for grace. And this is that grace which bringeth ſalvation to all that receive it, embrace it, and will be led by it. For it teacheth ſuch, as it did the ancient Chriſtians, "to deny all ungodlineſs, and the world's "luſts, and to live ſoberly and godlikely in this pre-"ſent evil world; looking for that bleſſed hope, and "glorious appearing of the great God, and their Sa-"viour Jeſus Chriſt, who hath given himſelf for them "to deliver them from all ſin, and to redeem them "from all iniquity." You know that you are bought with a price; now you feel it, and in meaſure diſcern the preciouſneſs of that price which hath bought you, namely, "the life of the dear Son of God." Grieve not his Spirit, that is ready to ſeal you to the day of

your

your perfect redemption: but give up your bodies, ſouls, and ſpirits to his ſervice, whoſe they are, that they may be ordered by him to his glory.

I write not to you as to the world; for you are called out of the world, by him that hath overcome the world; that as *he* is not of this world, ſo *you* may not be of this world. Come then out of it more and more, out of the nature, out of the ſpirit, out of the fruits, and out of the faſhions of the world! they are all for the fire. Chriſt ſaid, "The world loveth "its own." Search, with the light of the Lord Jeſus, what there is in you that the world owneth and loveth; for that is its *own*. And conſider what it is, that the world is offended with: not that which cometh from *itſelf*, of its own making and inventing, but that which *croſſeth* its invention; that is of another nature, and ſpringeth from another root. O be not conformed to the faſhions of this world, that pleaſe the luſt, which grieveth the Spirit of God; but be ye renewed in your minds; and being ſo *within*, you will be as a new people *without*.

They that have been truly with Chriſt, are quickly diſcovered; they cannot be hid. So it was of old; the Jews ſaid of the diſciples, "Theſe men have been "with Jeſus:" their ſpeech and carriage bewrayed them; their outſides were not like the outſides of other men; they were not current with the faſhions and cuſtoms of that time: nor can they that have been with Jeſus, conform to the vain faſhions and cuſtoms of this world. Wherefore be not you, in any ſort, of this world, but give diligence to make your holy high calling and election ſure: for many are called, and few are choſen; and the reaſon is, they are "ſlothful "ſervants, they hide their talent in a napkin, neglect "the day of their viſitation, and work not out their "ſalvation with fear and trembling:" and then the night overtaketh them, in which they can never work the works of repentance; and the things that belong to their peace are hid from their eyes for ever.

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But the Lord forbid that it ſhould be ſo with any of *you!* No, no; I hope, yea, I believe, better things of you. And I am aſſured, that as you keep your hearts chaſtely to the light and grace, that with which you have been viſited of the Lord, you ſhall be kept to eternal ſalvation. For they are ſaved, that walk in the light: into the *light* the enemy cannot come; for the light is Chriſt Jeſus, and the enemy hath no part or place in him; he is driven out from the holy place by tranſgreſſion; and he is now a *fugitive* from heaven; but he goeth up and down the *earth*, ſeeking whom he may devour, whom he can *catch* and carry away with his baits and ſnares.

Wherefore, "Wo to the inhabitants of the earth;" that is, the *earthly* inhabitants, ſuch as love and live in the *earthly nature*; for all ſuch ſhall be a prey to him, he ſhall have power over them, and keep up his kingdom in them. But thoſe that receive and abide in Chriſt Jeſus, the *light*, *life*, and *truth*, are out of his reach; they are in the "munition of rocks," under the "pavilion of the Lord," in the ſafe *ark* of the Moſt High God. However, he is permitted to tempt and try, till the time ſhall come that he is not only trodden under foot, but alſo bound and caſt into the lake, "that burneth with fire and brimſtone." And he is the *greateſt* enemy to thoſe that turn their backs upon him; wherefore he watcheth to ſurprize them, that he might take them at unawares, and triumph over their failings: and for that reaſon Chriſt Jeſus preached the "*watch*" earneſtly, and with repetition, to his diſciples.

Now, my dear friends, there be ſeveral things (or, the *enemy* in ſeveral appearances) will attend you in this holy march you are making to the eternal land of reſt; of which I would caution you, that you may none of you make ſhipwreck of any of thoſe holy beginnings you have experienced by the light and ſpirit of the Lord. Beware of *vain thoughts*, for they oppreſs and extinguiſh the true ſenſe. Theſe vain thoughts ariſe from the enemy's preſentation of objects

jects to the mind, and the mind's looking upon them, till they have made their *impressions* upon the mind, and influenced the mind into a love of them. This is a false liberty, a dangerous, yea, a destructive liberty, to the holy *sense* that God hath begotten in any. For as this is not received, but hindered, by such thoughts, so it is not improved, but destroyed by them. The divine *sense* in the soul is begotten by the Lord: it is his life and spirit, his holy breath and power, that quickeneth the soul, and maketh it sensible of its own state, and of God's will; and that raiseth fervent desires in it to be eternally blessed. This is that which Satan rageth at; he feareth his kingdom; he findeth that He is come that will cast him out of his possessions. He crieth out, "Why art "thou come to torment me before my time?" *He* is the father of vain thoughts; he begetteth them in the mind, on purpose to draw off the mind from that sense, and to exercise it in variety of conceptions, in a self-liberty of thinking and imagining concerning persons and things. Here he offereth his baits, and layeth his snares; and never faileth to catch and defile the unwatchful soul.

Now, if you should say, "What are these vain "thoughts?" I tell you, my friends, All those thoughts and conceptions that either bring not real profit to the soul, or that grieve, hurt, or oppress that holy sense, which is begotten of God in the soul. And that by which thoughts are to be examined, is the light of CHRIST JESUS: for as "That which may be "known of God is manifest in men, for God hath "shewn it unto them," as saith the apostle Paul to the Romans; so "all things that are reproved, are "made manifest by the *light*; for whatsoever maketh "manifest, *is* light," saith he to the Ephesians. By this light of Christ Jesus examine your own thoughts; see whence they rise, from whence they come, and what they tend to. O friends, here is a mystery; and the evil-one worketh here in a mystery! For where he cannot prevail to draw out the mind from its sensible habita-

habitation to embrace his repreſentations of old luſts and pleaſures, that are wicked in themſelves, he will preſent you with *lawful* objects, your outward enjoyments, buſineſs, and calling, and ſteal in upon your minds in the croud of theſe lawful things, and there lay his ſnares, hid and covered, and at unawares catch you.

My dear friends, bleſſed are they that ſee Jeſus their captain, going before them, and counſelling and leading them, in all outward and lawful concerns, that they offend not. For, my friends, this know, you may *unlawfully* think of lawful things; either in thinking on them *unſeaſonably*, (mark that) when your ſouls ſhould be wholly retired, and exerciſed in the Lord's light to feel his preſence, in which is heavenly life; or in thinking on lawful things *careleſsly*, not with regard to your Guide; he that hath bought you throughout with his own precious blood, that he might have the government of your bodies, ſouls, and ſpirits; that is, of your bodily concerns, as well as of the things relating to your ſouls and ſpirits. This prevents much harm and miſchief in buſineſs and families, and preſerveth the divine ſenſe that God hath begotten, and the creature in it; ſo that its fellowſhip and peace with the Lord runneth as a river, it is not ſtopt or hindered by the deſigns of the enemy: or, laſtly, in thinking on lawful things *exceſſively*, too much, more than is needful, without limits, thereby gratifying the fleſhly mind, which is enmity with God, and that ſenſe which he begetteth in the ſoul. O the mountains that are raiſed, by ſuch vain thoughts, betwixt God and the ſoul! how doth the ſoul come under an eclipſe, loſe ſight, and at laſt all ſenſe, of the living God, like men drowned in great waters! And thus many have loſt their condition, and grown inſenſible; and then queſtioned all former experiences, if they were not mere imaginations; till at laſt they arrived at *atheiſm*, denying and deriding God and his work, and thoſe that kept their integrity: for whom is reſerved

reſerved the blackneſs of darkneſs for ever, unleſs they timely and truly repent.

But when this ſubtle enemy of man's ſalvation ſeeth that he cannot make you bow to the glory of this world, that all his ſnares that he layeth in the things that are ſeen, which are temporal, are diſcovered and broken; and that your eyes are directed to thoſe things that are eternal, then will he turn *accuſer:* he will *aggravate* your ſins, and plead the impoſſibility of their remiſſion: he will ſeem to act the *advocate* for the juſtice of God, that he might caſt you into deſpondency, that you may doubt of deliverance and ſalvation. Many are the thoughts with which he perplexeth the ſons and daughters of men: but this know, that he was a liar from the beginning; for the Lord doth not viſit the ſouls of any to *deſtroy* them, but to *ſave* them. For this end hath he ſent his Son a light into the world; and they that bring their deeds to it, are not of the devil, who hateth the light. Neither doth the Lord cauſe his people to *hunger* and *thirſt* after him, and not fill them with his *good things*.

Be aſſured, my friends, wherever the Lord hath begotten deſires after him, and wherever ſin is become exceeding ſinful, yea, a burden to the ſoul, the devil's kingdom is *ſhaken*, the prince of this world is begun to be *judged*, and God is at work for the redemption of that ſoul. Hearken not to the voice of the *ſerpent*, for that loſt your firſt parents their bleſſed paradiſe; and with the ſame ſubtle and lying ſpirit he would hinder you from returning into paradiſe. But when he is herein diſappointed, he ſhifteth his temptation, and preſenteth another temptation, viz. 'That though you have begun well, yet ye will never 'be able to hold out to the end: that the temptations are ſo many, and the enemies ſo ſtrong, they 'are not to be overcome by you; and that it were 'better never to profeſs ſuch high things, than to fall 'ſhort of them; this will but bring reproach to the 'way, and the people of it.' Again, 'That it is 'curioſity, and ſpiritual pride, and conceitedneſs, for

'you to be thought better than others;' with the like ſuggeſtions, on purpoſe to ſtagger your reſolutions, and weaken your faith. Ah! he is a devil ſtill, a liar, and a deſtroyer: look not to him, but keep to Jeſus, who hath called you. Keep but your eye to him, of whom the *brazen ſerpent* in the wilderneſs was a figure, and he ſhall cure you of all diſeaſes, of all wounds and ſtingings of ſerpents and ſcorpions, &c. that may attend you in the wilderneſs-travel, which is the hour of your temptation. God is exalting him, *in* you, a *Saviour*; there is he manifeſted; viz. "to de-"ſtroy ſin." Yea, "ſtronger is he that is in you, "than he that is in the world:" he is able to bind the ſtrong man, and caſt him out; do but believe truly in him, and cleave to him. Remember there were *evil ſpies* of old, thoſe that brought *falſe intelligence*, that Canaan was a pleaſant land, but the *way impaſſable*; but the faithful entered and inherited. Keep therefore in the righteous life of Jeſus, and walk in his holy light, and you ſhall be preſerved, through all exerciſes and difficulties, unto the eternal Canaan, the land of reſt. Neither wonder at theſe things, that temptations attend you, or that the Lord trieth and proveth you; it is the way of all that are gone to God; for even JESUS was tempted and tried, and is therefore become our captain, "becauſe he "overcame." Neither be ye caſt down, becauſe the Lord ſometimes ſeemeth to hide his face from you, that you feel not always that joy and refreſhment that you ſometimes enjoy. I know what work the enemy maketh of theſe *withdrawings* of the Lord. Perhaps he will inſinuate, 'That God hath deſerted you in his 'diſpleaſure; that you muſt never expect to ſee him; 'that he will never come again:' and by theſe, and the like ſtratagems, he will endeavour to ſhake your faith and hope, and diſtract you with fear, and to beget great jealouſies and doubts in you; and by impatience and infidelity, fruſtrate your good beginnings. But though David ſaid of old, in the diſtreſs of his ſoul, "One day ſhall I fall by the hand of "Saul,"

" Saul," yet he overcame him, and had the crown. Yea, the Lord Jeſus himſelf cried out in the agony of the croſs, " My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken " me!" Nevertheleſs he glorioufly triumphed over all, and led captivity captive, for the joy that was ſet before him: which joy is before you; it is the mark of the price of your great and holy calling. Wherefore faint not, neither murmur, if your ſpiritual Moſes ſeems to withdraw a while from you. Do not you make *images* in his abſence, neither wax wanton; but poſſeſs your ſouls in holy fear and patience, waiting with holy reverence and diligence for his appearance, who is your victorious leader.

All theſe things are for your good, that proud fleſh may be debaſed, and that the ſoul may be redeemed. Wherefore bear the hand of the Lord; whom he loveth, he chaſteneth; his *anger* laſteth not for ever, but his mercies endure for ever. Shrink not from the pure operations of his holy word; let it divide aſunder between the ſoul and ſpirit, the joints and marrow in you; ſuffer your right hands to be cut off, and your right eyes to be plucked out, that do offend; let not the pain ſcare you. O bear the pure ſearchings of this heavenly word! yea, if your minds be ſtayed in it, you will find it to be a word of patience, which will keep you; for all virtue is in it. Keep in it, and be ſtill. 'It is good,' ſaid one of old, 'that 'a man ſhould both hope, and quietly wait, for the 'ſalvation of God. Yea, it is good for a man that 'he bear the yoke in his youth, (this is *your* youth) 'and ſuch an one ſitteth alone, and keepeth ſilence, 'becauſe he hath borne it upon him.' Ah! bleſſed are they that bear this holy yoke, who are come to this ſilence, who die daily; that not *they*, but *Chriſt*, may live and rule in them; therefore hear him, and take up his croſs, and follow him. Follow him, keep him company; he hath beaten the path, and trod the way; ſtart not aſide at his cup, neither ſhun his baptiſm: go with him to Caiaphas, to Pilate, and to the croſs; die with him to the world, and you ſhall riſe

with him unto life eternal. Honour, glory, and immortality are at the end of this holy race! O that you may run it with chearfulneſs and perſeverance!

But this is not the utmoſt ſtratagem of the enemy; he hath yet a more plauſible, and a more dangerous device, wherewith to deſtroy the holy ſenſe that God hath quickened, where he ſeeth theſe temptations reſiſted, and that he cannot hinder a religious work in the ſoul, by any of his baits taken from the things that are ſeen; and that is, his drawing you into *imaginations* of *God*, and *Chriſt*, and *religion*; and into religious duties, not in *God's* way or time; nor with Chriſt's Spirit. Here he is transformed into the appearance of an angel of light, and would ſeem *religious* now, *a ſaint*, yea, *a leader* into *religion*, ſo that he may but keep *him* out of his office, whoſe right it is to teach, prepare, enable, and lead his children with his holy power and ſpirit. Yea, if he can but keep the creature's *will* alive, he knoweth there is a ground for him to work upon; a place that he can enter, and in which his ſeed will grow. If this *will* of man be ſtanding, he knoweth that the will of *God* cannot be done on earth, as it is done in heaven. O this will is God's enemy, yea, the ſoul's enemy; and all *will-worſhip* ariſeth hence: yea, it is the offſpring of the ſerpent, and of the will of man; and it can never pleaſe God. Let all beware of this; God is a *Spirit*, and he will be worſhipped in his *own* ſpirit, in his *own* life. The worſhip of God ſtandeth in the *will* of God; and is not brought forth of the will of the *fleſh*, or of the will of *man*. Remember that the word came not to *Eſau*, the *firſt*-birth, the *hunter*, that ſtayed not at *home*; but to *Jacob*, the *plain* man, he that dwelt in *tents*: to *him* came the word of the Lord, that dwelt in a *ſtill* and *quiet* habitation. For in the *true ſilence* is God's word heard, into which the hunting nature of *Eſau*, the *firſt*-birth, can never come. It can never *ſtand ſtill*, and therefore it can never ſee the *ſalvation* of God. Againſt this nature watch; and know *Jacob*, that inherits the birth-right; the *election* of God (though

(though now a worm) to wreſtle and prevail. The worm *Jacob*, is *Iſrael* a prince, to whom belong the ſtatutes and the ordinances. "The word came to Ja-"cob, and the ſtatutes to Iſrael:" here is dominion, government, exaltation: this is the lot of worm Jacob. Wait, therefore, 'till the ANGEL move upon the 'waters,' before you ſtep one ſtep. Are ye followers of the Lamb, that hath viſited you, the captain of your ſalvation? Run not in your own wills; wait for his word of command, do nothing of your own heads and contrivings, yet do all with diligence that he requireth. Remember what became of them of old, that offered *falſe fire*; O ſtay till a coal from his holy altar touch your hearts and your lips! Jeſus told his mother at the marriage in Cana in Galilee, "His hour "was not yet come:" he rejected the *will* in her, and ſtaid, till *his* time was come; that is, his *Father*'s time, "in whoſe hands are the times and ſeaſons;" whoſe will he came to do, and not his own; leaving us therein a bleſſed example, that we ſhould alſo follow his ſteps; that is, not to attempt to perform even things of *God* in our *own* wills, nor out of *God*'s ſeaſon and time, which is the beſt: for in his ſeaſons he is *with* us; but in our *own* ſeaſons and wills he *withdraweth* himſelf from us. And this is the cauſe that the nation's worſhippers have little ſenſe of God in their hearts, and that their prieſts cry out againſt inward ſenſe; leſt the people ſhould go *alone*, and come to a more acceptable worſhip.

My dear friends, as you would enjoy God's preſence, love, and life, and be acceptable with him, wait in his holy light and ſpirit, that hath viſited you, againſt theſe ſtratagems of Satan, and wake not your beloved before his time: watch againſt the *will*, that inſtrument of Satan, and enemy of God's glory, and your own comfort. Let it be bridled, ſubjected, and kept under Chriſt's yoke, yea, ſubdued, that the will of God may be done in you and by you, which bringeth glory to the Lord, and eternal peace to the ſoul. One ſigh, rightly begotten, outweigheth a whole vo-

lume of *ſelf-made* prayers: for that which is born of fleſh, is *fleſh*, and reacheth not to God's kingdom, he regardeth it not; and all that is not born of the Spirit is *fleſh*. But a *ſigh*, or a *groan*, ariſing from a living *ſenſe* of God's work in the heart, it pierceth the clouds, it entereth the heavens; yea, the living God heareth it, his regard is to it, and his Spirit helpeth the infirmity. He loveth that which is of himſelf, and hath care over it, though as poor as worm Jacob. "For the cries of the poor, and the ſighings of the "needy will I ariſe," ſaith the Lord: the poor in *ſpirit*, that have parted with *all*, that they may win Chriſt; that need *him* only, and ſeek him above all; who have no helper in the earth, but have denied all earthly helps, that he might bring and work their ſalvation for them. And as you are not to run in your own wills, nor to offer up ſacrifices of your own preparing, ſo have a care how you touch with thoſe that do; how you bow to their wills, and join with their ſacrifices. For all theſe things greatly help to extinguiſh the divine ſenſe begotten in your hearts by the word of life. And as you are faithful to the light and ſpirit of Chriſt, which giveth you to diſcern and reliſh between that which ſtandeth in your *own* will, and the will and motion of the Spirit of *God* in yourſelves; ſo will you, by the ſame light, diſcern and ſavour between that which proceeds from the will of man, and the will and motions of the Spirit of God in others; and accordingly either to have, or not to have, fellowſhip with them: for what hath *light* to do with *darkneſs?* Or what hath *ſpirit* to do with *fleſh?* Or what hath *life* to do with *death?* "For the grave "cannot praiſe thee, O Lord; death cannot celebrate "thee: they that go down into the pit cannot hope "for thy truth. The living, the living, he ſhall "praiſe thee, as doth my ſoul this day." This was the teſtimony of the bleſſed prophet Iſaiah, and it ſtandeth true for ever: according to the prophet, "Thou haſt ordained peace for us, for thou haſt "wrought all our works in us."

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Wherefore I exhort you, in the ſpirit of truth, and in the counſel of the GOD of Truth, keep in the divine ſenſe and watch, if you would endure to the end in the will of God. And I ſay again, Touch not with man-made miniſters, nor man-made worſhips, let their words be never ſo true: it is but *man*, it is but *fleſh*, it is but the *will*; and it ſhall have no acceptance with God: O this is the golden cup of the whore that is gone from the leadings of the Spirit, with which the nations are defiled: have nothing to do with it. Keep to Chriſt Jeſus, God's great light; follow him, as he ſhineth in your hearts, and ye will not walk in darkneſs, but have the light of life: not of death to condemnation, as in the world; but unto life, which is juſtification and peace. And remember that nothing bringeth *to* Chriſt, that cometh not *from* Chriſt. Wherefore all miniſtry that cometh not *from* Chriſt, God's great Prophet and High Prieſt to all true-born Chriſtians, cannot bring people *to* Chriſt. Man only gathereth *to* man, to hear and believe *in* man, and depend *on* man: and if the church of *Corinth* ſought a proof of Chriſt's ſpeaking in Paul, that had begotten them, and had wrought the ſigns and works of an apoſtle in them; how much more reaſon have you to demand a proof of *Chriſt*'s ſpeaking in the prieſts and miniſters of this world, who have not wrought the ſigns and works of the apoſtles or true miniſters? And by what ſhould you try them, but by the *light* and *ſpirit* of CHRIST in you? Yea, it is Chriſt Jeſus in you, that giveth you to ſavour if others ſpeak from Chriſt in them. And this the apoſtle referreth the Corinthians to, for a proof of Chriſt's ſpeaking in him: for nothing leadeth *to* God, but that which came *from* God, even Chriſt Jeſus the *Son* of God. O let him be your vine, and know him to be your fig-tree: ſit under his holy teachings, whoſe doctrine ſhall drop as myrrh upon your ſouls: he will feed you with the bread of God, that cometh from heaven, that feedeth and leadeth them thither that feed upon it: and HE is that bread.

Therefore wait and watch unto his daily and hourly viſitations to your ſouls, and againſt all the approaches of the enemy, that ſo he may not take you at unawares; but that you may be preſerved from the power of his darts, and the force of his temptations, by the holy armour of light, the defence of the faithful ancients: "If you be willing and obedient, you ſhall "eat the good of the land." Now is your *day*, now is your *time*; work while the light is *with* you; for the night cometh, in which *none* can work. Not only the night of eternal darkneſs to the wicked; but the night of death unto all: for in the grave there is no repentance, neither can any man there work the works of God. You know the foundation: is he *elect?* Is he *precious* to you? Have ye *choſen* him? Yea, I am ſatisfied you have: ſee what you build upon him. Have a care of *hay*, *ſtraw*, and *ſtubble!* Have a care of your own *wills* and *ſpirits!* Labour not for the bread that *periſheth*, as all the bread of *man*'s making doth: but labour you, in the light and ſtrength of the Lord, for the bread that *never* periſheth, that bread that cometh from heaven, that nouriſheth the ſoul in that life that is heavenly, that is "hid with "Chriſt in God," the Root and Father of life; that of this fountain you may drink, that is clear and pure, that cometh from the throne of God, and of the Lamb, and not of the muddy puddle of *man's invention*. There is a bread that periſheth, and there is a drink that periſheth; and wo to them that feed thereon, for their ſouls ſhall periſh alſo, if they repent not. But there is a bread that *never* periſheth; and there is a fountain that ſpringeth up unto eternal life, and bleſſed are they that feed and drink thereof, for they ſhall have eternal life with God. This is that which only ſatisfieth what is born of *God*; it will feed on no other bread, nor drink of no other water. I cannot but warn you all, that are come to the *Lord's day*, that you ceaſe from all other food, from man and man's will and invention; for that ſtifleth the divine ſenſe; that overlayeth and killeth this heavenly birth. There

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are no grapes to be gathered of thorns, nor figs of thiſtles: keep to your own vine and fig-tree, Chriſt Jeſus; ſit under him, that you may eat of his fruit, which is the fruit of life, "the hidden manna;" hid from the nature and ſpirit of this world, a myſtery thereunto. Two things conſider: Firſt, you muſt wait till the manna cometh; and then you are not to be idle; you are to work: and next, as it daily cometh, ſo it muſt be daily gathered and fed upon: for the manna that was gathered yeſterday, will not be food for to-day; it will not keep for that uſe. And as it was outwardly, ſo it is inwardly. Time paſt is none of thine: it is not what thou waſt, but what thou art: God will be daily looked unto. Didſt thou eat yeſterday? That feedeth thee not to-day: therefore Jeſus taught his diſciples, and us in them, to pray for our *daily* bread; for the *preſent* ſuſtenance, and to look *no farther*, but depend upon the *Lord*, and live by faith in him, that raiſed up Jeſus from the dead; ſo that the time to *come* is no more *ours*, than the time *paſt* can be *recalled*.

Wherefore, "Bleſſed are they that fear the Lord, "and confide in him, they ſhall never be confounded: "they ſhall lack no good thing; for the Lord loveth "Iſrael, he is good unto Iſrael, and all that are of an "upright heart;" whoſe hearts look up to heaven, and not down to the earth; neither love, nor live in, the vain luſts of the world: ſuch ſhall "abide in his "holy tabernacle, ſuch ſhall dwell in his holy hill," even they that "walk uprightly, that work righteouſ-"neſs, and ſpeak the truth in their hearts; in whoſe "ſight a vile perſon is contemned, but who honour "them that fear the Lord."

O my dear friends, I know experimentally, that this is hard to fleſh and blood; that which is born of the corruptible ſeed; but that can never enter into the kingdom of God: that muſt be crucified *by* Chriſt, that hath *crucified* Chriſt: "blood requireth blood." Wherefore give that which is for the famine, to the *famine*: for the fire, to the *fire*: and for the *ſword*, to the

the *ſword*. Let all the ſinful luſts be famiſhed; let the ſtubble be burnt, and the corrupt, yea, and the fruitleſs tree, that cumbereth the ground, be "cut "down, and caſt into the fire." Let the work of the Lord be done in you; let him purge his floor, and that thoroughly; that you may come out as pure as gold ſeven times tried, fitted for his uſe that hath choſen you; that you may bear his mark, and wear his inſcription, "Holineſs to the Lord;" ſo you will be veſſels of honour in his houſe. Therefore I ſay, let your houſes be ſwept by the judgment of the Lord, and the little leaven of the kingdom leaven you in body, ſoul, and ſpirit, that holy temples you may be to his glory. This, I know, is your deſire, that are on your travel to this bleſſed enjoyment.

Well, you believe in God; believe alſo in Chriſt, the light that hath viſited you: and if you truly believe, you will not make haſte: you will not make haſte out of the hour of judgment; you will ſtay the time of your trial and cleanſing, that you may be, as I ſaid, as pure as gold ſeven times tried; and ſo receive the Lord's mark and ſtamp, his image and approbation; that you may be his throughout, in body, ſoul, and ſpirit; ſealed to him in an eternal covenant.

Dear friends, gird up the loins of your minds, watch and hope to the end; be not ſlothful, neither ſtrive; deſpond not, nor be preſumptuous: be as *little children*; "for of ſuch is the kingdom of God." Diſpute not, neither conſult with fleſh and blood: let not the prudence of this world draw you from the ſimplicity that is in Chriſt Jeſus. Love and obey the truth; hide his living word in your hearts; though it be as an hammer, a fire, a ſword, yet it reconcileth, and bringeth you to God, and will be ſweeter to you that love it, than is the honey, and the honey-comb. Fear not, but bear the CROSS, yea, without the camp; the camp of this world's luſts, glory, and falſe worſhips. But this know, when the enemy cannot prevail by any of theſe ſtratagems, if you reſiſt him as "the god of this world's glory, the prince of the air,

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" and the falſe prophet;" then he turneth *dragon*; then he delareth open war; then you are hereticks, fanaticks, enthuſiaſts, ſeducers, blaſphemers, unworthy to live upon the earth. But in all theſe things " re-" joice, and be exceeding glad, for great ſhall be " your reward in the kingdom of the Father." What if your parents riſe up againſt you; if your brethren betray you; if your companions deſert and deride you? If you become the ſong of the drunkard, and the ſcorn and merriment of the vile perſon? Yea, though the powers of the earth ſhould combine to devour you, let not your hearts be troubled. 'Shun 'not the croſs, but deſpiſe the ſhame, and caſt your 'care upon the Lord, who will be afflicted with you 'in all your afflictions: in the fire he will be with 'you, and in the water he will not forſake you.' O let your eye be to him, whoſe name is as a ſtrong tower, the ſanctuary of the righteous in all ages; that you may be able to ſay in your hearts, with David of old, " The Lord is my light and my ſalvation, " whom ſhall I fear? The Lord is the ſtrength of my " life, of whom ſhall I be afraid? Though an hoſt " ſhould encamp againſt me, my heart ſhall not fear; " though war ſhould riſe againſt me, in this will I " be confident. One thing have I deſired of the Lord, " that will I ſeek after, that I may dwell in the houſe " of the Lord all the days of my life, to behold the " beauty of the Lord, and to enquire in his temple. " For in the time of trouble he ſhall hide me in his " pavilion, he ſhall ſet me upon a rock. When my " father and my mother forſake me, then the Lord " will take me up. I had fainted, unleſs I had be-" lieved to ſee the goodneſs of the Lord in the land " of the living. WAIT on the Lord, be of good " courage; and he ſhall ſtrengthen thine heart. WAIT, " I ſay, on the Lord."

O my dear friends, let it be your daily and hourly work to wait upon God. How often does David ſpeak of *waiting upon God?* He felt the ſweetneſs of it: therefore retire into your holy chamber: be ſtill, and the

the Lord will ſpeak comfortably unto you. Bleſſed are they that wait upon him; whoſe expectations are only from *him*. "For though the youth ſhall faint "and be weary, and the young men ſhall utterly fail, "they that wait upon the Lord ſhall renew their "ſtrength; they ſhall mount up with wings as eagles, "they ſhall run and not be weary, they ſhall walk "and not faint. I waited," ſaid David, "*patiently* "for the Lord, and he inclined unto me, and heard "my cry." And this was his teſtimony, "Behold, "the eye of the Lord is upon them that fear him, to "deliver their ſoul from death, and to keep them "alive in famine: for the Lord is nigh unto them "that are of a broken heart, and ſaveth ſuch as be of "a contrite ſpirit:" David *knew* it, therefore he could *ſpeak* it.

O my dear friends, who are compaſſed about with many tribulations; the Lord God, your ſtaff and ſtrength, is near you to ſuſtain you. Have ye borne the holy reproach of Jeſus, and deſpiſed the ſhame of his croſs, and did he ever deſert you? Be not caſt down, though to the eye of reaſon there ſeemeth none to help, no, not one to ſave: though enemies *within*, and enemies *without*, encamp themſelves about you; though Pharoah and his hoſt purſue you, and great difficulties be on each hand of you, and the diſmal Red Sea be before you, *ſtand ſtill*; make no bargains for yourſelves; let all fleſh be *ſilent* before the Lord; and "*His arm* ſhall bring you *ſalvation*." Yea, when you are ready to go down into the pit, that your throat is dry with crying, and your eyes ſeem to fail with waiting, "his ſalvation ſhall ſpring as the morn-"ing; becauſe his mercies are to all generations, and "that the ſeed of Jacob never ſought his face in vain. "The poor man crieth," ſaith David; what poor man was this? He that is poor in his *own eyes*, that hath no helper in the earth but *God*. "This poor "man cried, and the Lord heard him, and ſaved him "out of all his troubles." "Our ſouls," ſaid the righteous

righteous of old, "waited for the Lord, for he is "our help, and our ſhield for ever."

Wherefore, my dear *friends*, be not you diſcomforted, for there is no *new* thing happened unto you: it is the ancient path of the righteous: "For thy "ſake," ſays David, "have I borne reproach; I am "become a ſtranger to my brethren, and an alien "unto my mother's children. When I wept, and "chaſtened my ſoul with faſting, that was to my re-"proach. I made ſackcloth alſo my garment, and I "became a proverb to them: they that ſit in the "gate, ſpeak againſt me; and I was the ſong of the "drunkards. Save me, O God, for the waters are "come in unto my ſoul: and the water-floods are "ready to ſwallow me up. They perſecute him whom "thou haſt ſmitten; and they talk to the grief of "thoſe whom thou haſt wounded." Do you not *know* this, dear friends? Are not your tears become a reproach, your faſts a wonder, your paleneſs a deriſion, your plainneſs a proverb, and your ſerious and retired converſation a *by-word?* Yea, when the Lord hath wounded, have not *they* alſo grieved? And when the Lord hath ſmitten you, have not they *mocked?* But this was David's joy, "The Lord is my ſhepherd, "I ſhall not want: he reſtoreth my ſoul, he leadeth "me in the path of righteouſneſs, for his name's-"ſake; he maketh me to lie down in green paſtures: "he leadeth me beſide the ſtill waters. Yea, though "I walk through the valley of the ſhadow of death, "I will fear no evil; for thou art with me, thy rod "and thy ſtaff comfort me:" who was the comforter and preſerver of Shadrach, Meſhach, and Abednego, that refuſed to obey the king's command againſt the commandment of God: they would not bow to his image; but rather choſe the fiery furnace, than to commit idolatry, or bow to another thing, than to the living God. "Did not we caſt three men into "the midſt of the fire?" ſaid Nebuchadnezzar: "lo "I ſee four men looſe, walking in the midſt of the "fire, and they have no hurt: and the form of the

"fourth

" fourth is like the Son of God." O my friends, the fire obeyeth him, as well as the winds and ſeas: all power is given to the Son of God, who is given to you for your ſalvation. Well; Shadrach, Meſhach, and Abednego, the king calleth out of the fire, and they have no *harm*; though the mighty men that caſt them into the fiery furnace were *conſumed*. The God of Shadrach, Meſhach, and Abednego, is magnified by the king's decree; and Shadrach, Meſhach, and Abednego, are by the king highly preferred. Here is the end of faithfulneſs; here is the bleſſing of perſeverance: God will bring honour to his name, through the patience and integrity of his people.

And it was this Son of God that preſerved Daniel in the lion's den; it was his voice, that David ſaid, " divideth the flames of fire; he rideth upon the winds, " he ſitteth upon the floods. The voice of the Lord " is powerful; the voice of the Lord is full of ma- " jeſty: they that truſt in him ſhall never be con- " founded. Bleſſed are they whoſe God is the Lord: " for he is a preſent help in the needful time of trou- " ble. The angel of the Lord encampeth round " about them that fear him, and he delivereth them. " O taſte, and ſee, that the Lord is good: bleſſed is " the man that truſteth in him. O fear the Lord, for " there is no want to them that fear him. The " young lions ſhall lack, and the old lions ſuffer " hunger; but they that ſeek the Lord ſhall not want " any good thing. Many are the afflictions of the " righteous, but the Lord delivereth them out of " them all; for the Lord redeemeth the ſouls of his " ſervants, and none of them that truſt in him ſhall " be made deſolate."

For which cauſe, my dear friends, " caſt away every " weight, and every burden, and the ſin that doth ſo " eaſily beſet you." Neither look at the enemy's ſtrength, nor at your own weakneſs; but look unto JESUS, the bleſſed Author of your convincement and faith: the Mighty One, on whom God hath laid help, for all thoſe that believe in his name, receive his teſtimony,

timony, and live in his doctrine; who ſaid to his dear followers of old, "Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world: fear not, little flock; it is your Father's good pleaſure to give you the kingdom: and they that endure to the end ſhall be ſaved. I will not leave you comfortleſs," ſaid he, "I will come to you; he that is with you, ſhall be in you." This was the hope of their glory, the foundation of their building, which ſtandeth ſure. And though ſorrow cometh over night, yet joy ſhall come in the morning. "Ye ſhall weep and lament," ſaid Jeſus, "but the world ſhall rejoice; and ye ſhall be ſorrowful, but your ſorrow ſhall be turned into joy, and their rejoicing into howling. And lo I am with you to the end of the world." Be ye therefore encouraged in the holy way of the Lord; wait diligently for his daily manifeſtations unto your ſouls, that you may be ſtrengthened in your inward man, with might and power, to do the will of God on earth, as it is done in heaven. O *watch*, that ye enter not into temptation: yea, "watch unto prayer, that ye enter not into temptation, and that you fall not by the temptation." Chriſt ſaid to Peter, "Canſt not thou watch *one* hour?" Every one hath an hour of temptation to go through; and *this* is the *hour* that every one is to *watch*. Jeſus, the captain of our ſalvation, was under great temptations; "he was ſad unto death; he did ſweat drops of blood;" but he *watched*, he *prayed*, he *groaned*, yea, he *cried with ſtrong cries*; but through ſuffering overcame: and remember how in the wilderneſs he was tempted, but the angels of the Lord miniſtered to him. So they that follow him in the way of the tribulations and patience of his kingdom, God's angel ſhall miniſter unto them all: yea, he will keep them in the hour of temptation: he will carry their heads above the waves, and deliver them from the devouring floods.

Wherefore, finally, my friends, I ſay unto you, in the name of the Lord, "Be of good cheer!" Look to JESUS, and fear not man, whoſe breath is in his noſtrils;

noſtrils; but be valiant for the truth on earth. "Love "not your lives unto the death, and you ſhall receive "a crown of life and glory;" which the God of the fathers, the God of the prophets, the God of the apoſtles, and the God of the martyrs, and true confeſſors of Jeſus; yea, the God and Father of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, ſhall give unto all thoſe that keep the pure teſtimony of his Son in their hearts, and patiently and faithfully endure to the end.

"Now to him that is able to keep you from falling, "and to preſent you faultleſs before the preſence "of his glory with exceeding joy; to the only "wiſe God, our Saviour, be glory and majeſty, "dominion and power, both now and ever. "Amen."

I am your friend, that ſincerely loves you, and earneſtly travails for your redemption.

W. PENN.

TO

TO ALL THOSE

PROFESSORS OF CHRISTIANITY

THAT ARE

Externally ſeparated from the VISIBLE SECTS and FELLOWSHIPS in the Chriſtian World, ſo called, wherever hidden or ſcattered:

True Knowledge, which is Life Eternal, from GOD the FATHER, through JESUS CHRIST, be increaſed.

Publiſhed in the Year 1677.

FRIENDS,

THE *firſt* Adam is of the earth, earthy; the *ſecond* Adam is the Lord from heaven, the quickening Spirit: what is born of fleſh, is *fleſh*, and cannot enter into the kingdom of God. So far can the ſpirit of *mere* man come, and no farther; but what is born of *God*, does inherit life eternal. All you, therefore, who are *exalted* in your ſpeculations, and refined in your apprehenſions and ideas of God, of Chriſt, of the Spirit, and of the ſecrets of the heavenly kingdom, examine and try, by the light of the Lord Jeſus, whether you have received your knowledge from God, or from men; and, when taken in the *beſt* part, whether it is more than the new wine in the old bottles, which cannot endure, nor ſtand in judgment. Conſider if

it be not the bare or mere *man*, that ſpeaks of godly matters, what he has heard, or read, of others labours, rather than the overſhadowings and operations of the holy and eternal Spirit of Chriſt in yourſelves.

Hereby ſhall you know whether your knowledge of God is true, or not, viz. If you are redeemed by his righteous judgments, working out all the tin and droſs that have been in you, and brought to the ſilence of all *fleſh*, that has no right to ſpeak in man, for it *knows not* the things of God.

Friends, I am preſſed, by the good Spirit of God, to aſk you, Whether the prince of this world is *fully* and *wholly* judged in you? Is he beaten off of *falſe righteouſneſs*, as of *ſin?* For when he cannot prevail with the creature to ſubmit to *him*, then he tempts it to take upon it to govern and guide *itſelf*, that it ſhould not be taught by *Chriſt*, and that his own kingdom of darkneſs ſhould not be thereby overturned at once.

And therefore deceive not yourſelves, O my beloved friends! Is the glory of the world wholly ſet aſide in you? Is it at once judged, and under your feet? If the Spirit of Jeſus wholly reigns in your hearts, then are you not conformable to any of the evil fruits, inventions, and faſhions of this world; but are, inwardly and outwardly, gathered to the Spirit of Jeſus, and the dark world trodden under your feet in all its appearances; yea, then you are valiant for the cauſe of God upon earth; your candles are in their candleſticks, and not under the bed or buſhel.

But Oh! Is this ſo? Take heed; for that life is now riſen which you cannot deceive, but it will taſte you in all your performances, and judge righteous judgment. I aſk a ſecond time, in the fear and name of the holy God, (who is a conſuming fire againſt all that which is counterfeit, and not true) is the prince of this world judged? As a *devil*, as a *dragon*, as a *prince* of the *air*, a *falſe prophet*, yea, as one appearing ſometimes like an *angel* of *light* too? For this man of ſin, and of perdition, has alſo his viſions, knowledge, faith,

faith, ſigns, miracles; yea, *quakings* too; yet not like thoſe that are born of God, and are inſpired and actuated by his *Holy Spirit*.

But ah! are you come ſo far, that you feel that all fleſh is *ſilent* before the Lord? For that is the time when *God* ſhould ſpeak, and men ſhould hear what he ſays. I ſay, is *Adam* ſilent in you? Is the ſpirit of man ſilent in you? Is thy ſoul, O man! *paſſive* and *quiet*, retired from all *images*, *ideas*, *figures*, or *ſelf-apprehenſions*, that thou mayeſt hear and diſcern what God, through his Son, will ſpeak unto thee? He who is the bleſſed Teacher, that taught Adam in paradiſe, the good Jews under the law by his angels and prophets; and does yet teach all true Chriſtians under the goſpel, through his beloved Son, who is the glorious *ſun* and *light* of the world, and *fulneſs* of ALL *diſpenſations* to mankind.

I ſay once more, in the fear of the Lord, friends, judge, walk up to what you have attained, and reach not beyond your own experience, neither glory in your *own* ſtrength, but in the Lord: do not hold the truth in unrighteouſneſs, like as all thoſe do, who walk not after the Spirit, nor are made ſenſible, through the work of it; and who make not profeſſion thereof. And therefore hear me once more, I beſeech you: are you got beyond your own thoughts? Have you found eaſe and peace, through Chriſt, in your own conſciences? Do you keep the holy watch againſt the enemy in all his appearances, whether ſelfiſhneſs or ſinfulneſs, forwardneſs or backwardneſs in duty? Have you conquered that part, or *haſty* birth, which aſcends like an eagle, and hovers in the air, but pitches no where that is truly profitable to the ſoul? Is the eye of the *vulture* blinded, that would peep and ſpy into the path of the righteous, which is kept cloſe from all the birds of prey, but open to the dove? Ah! Is that which delights to comprehend and know more than that which is obtained through daily obedience, is that aſpiring ſerpent ſeen? I ſay, is that enemy ſeen and judged, and that through Chriſt, the great Pro-

phet of God *in* you, to whom all judgment is committed? If ſo, you are ſafe: but if not, then ſhall your work ſuffer great damage in the fiery day of the Lord. And beſides, I ſay, have you received your knowledge by the death of the croſs? And have you ſeen yourſelves *loſt* without Chriſt, and *riſen* with him? Then have you caſt away your grave-clothes, and are clothed upon with immortality, with the fine linen and raiment of ſaints, which is the portion of all the redeemed of the Lord through judgment, and his bleſſed converts through righteouſneſs, as it was with the holy fathers of old: can you ſay, in truth and in righteouſneſs, that you are redeemed with the ſame judgments, and converted through the ſame righteouſneſs, as they were; and that the ſame pure and ſpiritual judgment has been the beginning of your knowledge and experience? If not, then it is all wrong, and you muſt begin again: for one ſtone muſt not ſtand upon another in that building, which ſtands in the oldneſs of the letter, and not in the newneſs of the ſpirit: conviction, redemption, and, from an earthly ſenſual, a ſuperſenſual life, are the great buſineſs, and muſt be wrought by *fire*, called the "baptiſm of fire "and the Holy Ghoſt." Wherefore deceive not yourſelves, God will not be mocked: come to the fire, and try your works. Are they wrought in *God*, by and after *him*, *his* mind, and will; or of ſelf-imitations and imaginations, that cannot profit the poor ſoul? If after God's mind and will, there is an end of the faiths, worſhips, luſts, glory, and cuſtoms of this world, and the root they ſpring from is cut down, with all its branches, fruits, and leaves, that have ſhewn themſelves, more or leſs, under the great apoſtacy that has ſpread over the world, and Chriſtendom more eſpecially.

Examine, my friends, and try this holy guide in your hearts, by the word of the Lord, which is dividing aſunder between "the ſoul and ſpirit, and the "joints and marrow, and is a diſcerner of the thoughts "and purpoſes of the heart:" for "the heart is "deſpe-

" deſperately wicked; who can know it?" Yea, the ſecrets and treaſures of unrighteouſneſs live in it. Examine therefore thyſelf over and over, by the light of the Lord, and let his true judgment take place; that which comes from him, to whom the Father has committed all judgment, as well as all power.

I have a godly jealouſy about many of you, whether your knowledge does not exceed your experience, at leaſt, your obedience; and whether you feed not yourſelves with that bread that periſhes. Beware, therefore, of that tree whoſe knowledge Adam purchaſed with the loſs of paradiſe[a]; for that is the way never to come into the paradiſiacal ſtate again. I feel I muſt ſay to ſome of you, " Come down, Zaccheus, " come down.[b]" You that find yourſelves to be of low ſtatures, and therefore miſtruſt leſt the multitude ſhould hinder, or hide the Lord from you, whoſe all-ſeeing eye and preſence beholds all things; and therefore reſort to the high tree; that is, to high notions, that you may ſee, or behold him as he is; I ſay to you, " Come down," for ſalvation is not to be found there: no! no! for it is nearer to you, it is even come to your own houſes: yea, to your hearts; there ſtands Chriſt, your ſalvation, at your doors, knocking; let him in, for he comes to take away the ſins of the world, and reſtore poor man to God again. He whom God has ſet to be a light to the Gentiles, and a leader to the people, and to be his ſalvation to the ends of the earth:[c]" therefore I recommend unto you, that you be not offended at the meanneſs of his appearance; for his day is a day of *ſmall* things, even as the *ſmoking flax*, and the *bruiſed reed*.[d]

And this, therefore, ariſeth powerfully in my ſoul, to ſpeak unto you, 'That he appears not in the form 'of beauty, which is pleaſing to the fleſh; and that 'his way and worſhip is ſeparated from ſuch in the 'greateſt meaſure.' Fleſh and blood have no part in

[a] Gen. ii. 9. [b] Luke xix. 5. [c] Rev. iii. 20. John i. 29. Acts xiii. 47. [d] Zech. iv. 10.

his ſervice, and the forwardneſs, runnings and willings of men, have no place there: for it is neither upon this mountain, whither one ſort runs, nor yet at Jeruſalem, nor in the privy-chamber, where another ſort are ſeeking; but in the Spirit of God, the true worſhip of God is known and performed. Every form is more acceptable than his; no man's face, or viſage, being more marred or disfigured than his: all voluntary humilities and worſhips of men, and every human tradition or invention of men, has a fairer ſhew, and a more grateful appearance than his, of whom it is ſaid, "He has not a place whereon to lay his head." This is a bitter cup for the creature, and there are but few who will drink it; for it is a hard matter to bring men thereunto, viz. to ſit ſtill, and with patience wait for the ſalvation of God, and deny all ſelf-activities and contrivings, and ſo let him will and work all their works in and for them. They know not what it is to put their "mouths in the duſt, and "all fleſh to be ſilent and abaſed before the Lord;[e]" that he alone may be exalted, and his voice heard, that he may prepare them to do his will in their earth, as it is done in heaven. Ah! how has this myſtery of unrighteouſneſs wrought, and how does it work yet? boaſting that the living child belongs to her; but it is feigned, becauſe it is the womb of death, and cannot bring forth any living fruit unto God. All nations have drank too much of this cup; but the hour of this falſe ſpirit's judgments is now come, and it is ſeen, revealed, and judged, through the living Spirit of God, which is felt, received and obeyed, by a poor people, whom God has delivered out of the mouths of the idolatrous and ſuperſtitious ſhepherds, and falſe prophets, who have no viſion themſelves, but who write, preach and pray againſt it, and perſecute thoſe that aſſent to and profeſs it, as the goſpel privilege and dignity; who are come to the Lord, and know his law written in their hearts, and his fear

[e] Lam. iii. 29.

placed

placed in their inward parts, and that are taught and guided by him. Theſe follow the Lamb, and hear his voice, and are the hoſt of the Lord, in this our day, who fight, through their holy teſtimony, under his banner, againſt the myſtical harlot, the falſe prophet, and the beaſt; and, behold, they ſhall obtain the victory: for he that is in them, is ſtronger than he that is in the world, that fights againſt them.

And though this be a great myſtery, ſo it is, notwithſtanding, a greater truth; to wit, that *Moſes*, the ſervant, is externally fairer than CHRIST; yea, the prophets themſelves ſpake as ſo many delightful ſingers, and like thoſe that play upon pleaſant inſtruments of muſick: for their revelations, viſions, and glorious prophecies of the latter days, and of the times of the new covenant, were, as one of them ſaid of the children of that generation, "like a pleaſant ſong." But when the SON, the *Subſtance*, came, it was without beauty, without ornament, and without any external excellency; which is to ſay, no formality, no obſervations in meats and drinks, or holy days, ſurplices, altars, veſtments, offerings, &c. Inſtead of which, a ſtrait way to fleſh and blood, a croſs to ſelf-love, and a holy watch, are inſtituted and recommended by example, as well as precept; which is a bitter cup, or draught, for all to drink that will go to glory: man muſt die to his own will, inclinations, imaginations, and fleſhly conceits: he muſt conſtantly wait and watch. Now his *own* worſhip and righteouſneſs are as odious to him, as his ſin and unrighteouſneſs were before: for it is not an external matter, nor an external running, or doing, that can profit: nor is it that which pleaſeth the buſy brain, and the nice phantaſy of the creature; becauſe while all thoſe things have been ſtroking the mind of the creature, they have been warring againſt the ſoul: but it is a ſecret life; a ſecret temple; a ſecret ſervice, and that in God's due time; yea, it is a ſecret manna, a ſecret ſupper, which cannot be underſtood by the vain ſects of this world. And Jeſus is the builder of this tabernacle:

bernacle: he is the author of this covenant and ſervice: he is the high prieſt of this altar. Hereunto he has gathered thoſe his ancient people, and hereunto he gathers the nations in theſe our days. The *bride* ſays "Come;" the *Spirit* ſays "Come;" and *He* ſays "Come," and bleſſed are thoſe that *come*, and ſee how good he is to thoſe that love and fear him: for all crowns muſt be laid down at his feet, to him that is meek and humble, and rides upon an aſs, and upon the foal of an aſs, the moſt contemptible of all beaſts; ſince God has concluded that he ſhould be glorified, and that hoſanna and glory belongs to him for ever. He ſhall humble the proud, and exalt the humble; yea, he ſhall lay the mountains low, and exalt the vallies; to wit, the poor in ſpirit, to whom the kingdom of God belongs.

And therefore do not think yourſelves rich, like the phariſees; for you muſt know this, that "a camel ſhall more eaſily paſs through the eye of a needle, than a rich man ſhall enter into the kingdom of God." But come to the ſeed of God, ſown in all your hearts, for therein muſt "all the nations of the earth be bleſſed;[f]" for whoſe ſake, forſake all viſible things, bow down before it, cleave to it with your whole hearts, and learn thereof; for it is incorruptible; that you may thereby be inſtructed, and born again; that you may be as *little children*, who do not *argue* with their Father, but love, believe, and follow him in all obedience and faithfulneſs, and to ſuch belongs the kingdom of God. To theſe God reveals his ſecrets; wherefore the Lord Jeſus Chriſt has ſaid, "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou haſt hid theſe things (what ſort of things? The hidden things of the kingdom of heaven) from the wiſe and prudent, and that thou haſt revealed them unto babes: even ſo, Father, for ſo it ſeemed good in thy ſight:[g] for out of the mouths of babes and ſucklings[h] haſt thou or-

[f] 1 Pet. i. 23. [g] Mat. xi. 25, 26. [h] Pſal. viii. 2.

"dained

" dained ſtrength," or, " thou haſt perfected praiſe:" whereas in *God*'s preſence no fleſh ſhall boaſt.

My friends, diſquiet not yourſelves to comprehend divine things; for they that do ſo, are of the fleſh: but wait in ſtillneſs, upon the God of all the families of the earth, and then ſhall you have a true feeling of him, and of that which feeds the ſoul, and gives the ſaving knowledge, *viz.* that knowledge which is everlaſting: this knowledge remains, and ſtands faſt; likewiſe peace, and everlaſting aſſurance, goes along with it.

For this I teſtify unto you, from the Lord, that the fowls of the air, and the imaginations of fleſh and blood, are the greateſt enemies of your ſouls, and of your progreſs in the way of the Lord. The firſt hath often *ſtolen away* the ſeed, as ſoon as it was ſown; inſtead of which, it ought to take root, and ſpring up: and hereby the viſitations of the Lord are of no effect, and your ſouls remain weak and feeble: and the other hath *ſuppreſſed* the ſeed, after it hath ſprung up. O the fine imaginations of the wiſdom of this world, the fear of man, and earthly prudence! This comes not from the heavenly, ſaving, and living knowledge; neither can it ever beſtow it upon you: but true knowledge makes courageous and diligent before the Lord; and thoſe that are ſo, are noble in their teſtimony, patient under afflictions, ſtedfaſt and chearful under perſecutions. This is the way of the only true God, whoſe name be glorified to all eternity.

Ye, then, that have a true ſight of a better hope, and of a more laſting habitation, who in the ſingleneſs of your heart thirſt after the true and living feeling and knowledge of God; who are like a poor dove without conſort, and as a ſolitary pelican in the wilderneſs, who truly ſeek after the beloved of your ſouls, but have not yet found him; " Be ſtill, O ye " tender people! and know that he is God." Who? " He that ſearcheth the heart, that trieth the reins, " that ſetteth the thoughts of men in order before " their eyes;" in this ſtillneſs ſhall ye hear him, who will

will teach you where to find that which you ſeek for; yea, it is *he*, for he alone can do it, who manifeſteth himſelf to you. Mary ſought Jeſus, and thought it was the *gardener* when ſhe ſaw him; ſhe aſked Jeſus for Jeſus; but when he ſaid "*Mary*," ſhe anſwered "Maſter;" and through *that word* her beloved Maſter, Jeſus, *revealed* himſelf, and demonſtrated that he knew her, and *that gave* her to know him; for, alas! he whom you ſeek is *near* you; yea, in the *midſt* of you: it is he that knows you, and calls to you, and tells you whatever you have done, whether it be juſt, or unjuſt; and it is he that pronounceth judgment againſt thoſe that walk after the fleſh, but ſpeaketh peace and joy to thoſe that walk after the Spirit. And therefore do not ſlight his appearance, but live humbly, and then you ſhall ſee him whom you wait for ſwiftly come, and make himſelf known to you.

My beloved, ſeek not the preſent eaſe, or pleaſures of the fleſh; and fear not man, but God. Hear me, O my friends, for the Lord God hath ſent me unto you, in this epiſtle; take heed that ye out-run not yourſelves in inward viſions, and openings of the heart, and that you feed not yourſelves with the knowledge of the ſame; for this is *not* that knowledge which is eternal life; although many, and more eſpecially in Germany, have loſt themſelves thereby: for when they have received inward manifeſtations from God, they were not humble and low, but were exalted in their own minds above the daily croſs; which croſs is death to that which prides itſelf with theſe viſions, or manifeſtations, and have been elevated above the ſimplicity of obedience, in a bare profeſſion of the ſame.

O the ſubtlety of that cunning enemy of ſouls! This, this hath put a ſtop to the work of the Lord; for they have not known the travail, the death, and the firſt reſurrection; but, without experience, lived ſlightly in the delightful repreſentations and manifeſtations of the ſame: hereby are come forth whole generations of exalted, ſpiritual, and high-ſtrained notioniſts,

tioniſts, who deſpiſing the groſs impiety, and dark ſuperſtitious contrivances of ſects, are in the mean while entertained by the enemy (who is provided with all manner of ſuitable baits) with thoſe likeneſſes and repreſentations of TRUTH: they dream of meat, and the feaſt of tabernacles; but when the day of the Lord is at hand, which is to awaken them to riſe to judgment, behold, then they are empty and hungry!

And therefore take great heed to follow the Lord, and worſhip him: adore *him*, and not the *image* thou thyſelf haſt made. Do not make calves out of jewels, which thou haſt brought out of Egypt. Do not bow down thyſelf before thy old experiences; but behold the *arm* that has helped thee, and that God who has often delivered thee. Bleſſed are thoſe who are kept by him in the daily ſenſe of his preſervation, for their hearts will not run after other gods. Remember that the manna deſcended from heaven daily; that it daily muſt be gathered and eaten; and that the manna that was gathered yeſterday, cannot ſerve to-day for *food*. Now as it is in the natural, even ſo is it in the ſpiritual. And therefore the Lord Jeſus has taught his diſciples to pray for their *daily* bread; for he is daily with his people, and he goes before them: therefore let nobody look backwards, and adore what they have known; but look forward, on Jeſus, the author of the true faith, who is mighty to finiſh what he has begun; becauſe he has not only brought and delivered his people out of *Egypt*, but he is likewiſe their ſpiritual *Moſes*, who has led them through the *wilderneſs*; he goes before his ſheep, and gives them everlaſting life; namely, to thoſe who hear and follow him: but when men are negligent in hearing Chriſt, then they work for themſelves upon their old experiences, and "hew to themſelves ciſterns that "can hold no water." Here death prevails, and here death talks of the fame of wiſdom; and with this knowledge they feed themſelves, and not on the tree of life.

Take

Take ye heed, my friends, for great is the myſtery of unrighteouſneſs, but the light of Jeſus Chriſt diſcovers the ſame; and therefore remain in this, and from it expect your daily bread, daily knowledge, daily wiſdom, and daily ſtrength: "Take no thought for "the morrow, for ſufficient unto the day is the evil "thereof."

And thus lives the ſeed of faith, the true ſpiritual generation of the believing Abraham; that daily eat of the hidden manna, which deſcends every day from above, and that is hidden from the world, and its wiſdom.

Wo unto them, from God, who make and adore *images*, as well of things in *heaven*, as upon *earth*: wherefore examine and try yourſelves, by the light of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who alone gives the true underſtanding, what your knowledge is; for the knowledge that is everlaſting life, is a lively ſenſe, enjoyment, and poſſeſſion of things, which we ſee *inwardly*; and into this, man of himſelf can by no means come by all his ſtrivings: but this is only obtained by judgments, deep humiliation, patience, daily watching, and by bearing the croſs of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and that not only againſt Satan, but alſo againſt our own ſelfiſhneſs.

And I teſtify, that he who attains his knowledge *another* way, is a thief and a robber: for Chriſt is the *door*, and through him all muſt enter; nay, through him *only* we can *come to God*; namely, by faithfully receiving him into the heart, and embracing him; firſt, as a *light*, diſcovering corrupt nature, with all its evil fruits; then as a *judge*, condemning the ſame to the death of the croſs, that ſuch may come to die with him to the ſpirit of the world, and to the bad and vain fruits of it; as alſo to the ſpiritual powers in high places; and finally to know him as the *reſurrection* and *life*, and as one who raiſeth the ſoul, by the ſame power whereby God the Father has raiſed *him* from the dead.

And

And here is the pure and living knowledge obtained: this is *to know*, and *to put on* Chriſt, and through *him* to come *to God*, and to enter through the ſtrait gate; the ſtrait gate, that is too narrow for fleſh and blood; and all that is not born of the Eternal Spirit is *fleſh*, and ſhall wither away as graſs before the glorious Sun of Righteouſneſs, which is now ariſen; for *his* work alone can undergo the judgment, and endure the trial; namely, that which is *born* of him; which is not by the will of man, in his *own* time, nor by his running and willing, but by the will of God, and by the holy overſhadowing of his pure Spirit. And this know, 'That God doth not overſhadow the *adulterous*, but 'the *chaſte* virgin mind." Who has ears, let him hear: this alone it is which can conceive, and produce that knowledge which is everlaſting life; and all other knowledge, at the higheſt, is not higher than the golden head of that image, which, by that "ſmall "ſtone cut out of the mountain, without hands," ſhall be broken into pieces; that is, without all the arts, ſciences, labour, induſtry, wiſdom, will, or mind of men.

Nay, it muſt be broken, becauſe it has no feet, on which it can ſtand; nor foundation that can endure the proof; and therefore enquire into the foundation you build upon, which I beg for God's ſake. Is it upon the "chief corner ſtone?" Upon the "Stone "which is elect and precious?" Is it upon Chriſt, the true rock? Againſt whom, nor againſt any one, who truly depends upon it, ſhall the gates of hell prevail? See then if the gates of hell, in ſeveral things, do not prevail over you, as well as over the great body of falſe Chriſtians? Have you not about you the mark of the nature of the world? Do you not bow before any of its cuſtoms? Make a ſearch with the candle of the Lord Jeſus, that he has lighted within you; whereby you ſhall ſee all the fruits you produce; namely, the nature of them, and to what they tend; to wit, if they are of the nature, and tend to the luſt, of *this world*, or of the nature of *God*, and to his will; for

for all true Chriſtians ought to conform themſelves unto his will in all things, that whatſoever they do may tend to the praiſe and glory of the Lord, their bleſſed King and Lawgiver.

And therefore live ye low and humble, to that which has viſited you: be like worm Jacob; let the Lord awake you, but dwell you in the tents: do not build Babels, for they muſt be broken: remember that humble and little David obtained the kingdom, whoſe truſt was only in the name of the Lord, and his delight was in meditating in the pure law of his God.

This is the viſit of my life and love to you, O ye ſcattered and hidden ones: lift up your heads, and behold your Shepherd and your Saviour; turn ye to him, follow him, and live with him: let him lead you to the place where he feeds, and where he makes his flock to reſt at noon; for by his eternal light and ſpirit has he gathered from off the barren mountains, and from the idolatrous ſhepherds, a flock, which he hath led to the fold of reſt, through many and great tribulations; and he who remains firm and immoveable, is the *true* reſt, viz. Jeſus Chriſt, and there is no other. Therefore it is ſaid, that the true church, coming up from the wilderneſs, leans upon the breaſt of JESUS CHRIST, her Beloved, her Lord, and her Huſband, who is her ſtrength and ſtay: and all thoſe who lean upon another, will fall in the wilderneſs, and never come to the reſt of the Lord.

Therefore lean ye upon no other, but adhere unto him; wait, watch, and walk in his holy light, which he has ſent to lead you out of darkneſs, and therewith you will be enabled to know him from whom it comes, and whom you ſeek; for the nations, who are to be ſaved, muſt walk in the "light of the Lord:" and the time comes, and now is, that we ſhall have no need of the ſun, nor moon, nor ſtars; but the Lamb of God, that was ſlain, and now lives, ſhall be the light and life of all true Chriſtians, here and hereafter.

Theſe

Theſe things were laid upon me by the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who is "the faithful and true witneſs," to write to you, and to bear witneſs of his kingdom and appearance; that ye might ſeek, ſo that ye alſo may find, and that ye ſhould be ready to enter in with him to the everlaſting ſupper, and to the reſt which he has prepared for thoſe who love him, and follow him in the way of regeneration, not loving their lives unto death, for his glorious name and teſtimony's ſake; to whom my ſoul does humbly render honour and praiſe, and, in communion with his whole redeemed family upon earth, I aſcribe all honour, power, and dominion, now henceforth and for evermore. *Amen.*

WILLIAM PENN.

A TEN-

A

TENDER VISITATION,

IN THE

LOVE OF GOD,

That overcomes the WORLD,

TO

ALL People in the *High* and *Low Dutch* Nations, who hunger and thirſt after Righteouſneſs, and deſire to know and worſhip GOD in Truth and in Sincerity: Containing a plain Teſtimony to the Ancient and Apoſtolical Life, Way, and Worſhip, that GOD is reviving and exalting in the Earth, in his SPIRIT and TRUTH.

Publiſhed in the Year 1677.

FRIENDS,

IN that love wherewith God, the Father of all mercy, and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, hath loved and viſited my ſoul, I likewiſe love and viſit you; wiſhing in the ſame love that you, with all the ſaints, might come to experience what is the knowledge, faith, hope, worſhip, and ſervice, that is of and from God, and which alone is truly acceptable unto him; and

that you might ſo run, that you may obtain; and that you, being armed with the ſpiritual weapons, may ſo fight, as you may gain the prize, and inherit the crown: ſo that the great God, the Lord of heaven and earth; he who ſhall judge the quick and the dead; he may be known by you to be your God, and you may know yourſelves to be his children; "born "not of blood, nor of the will of fleſh, nor of the "will of man, but born again of his holy and in-"corruptible ſeed, by the word of God,[a]" born of his Spirit, and joined unto him in an everlaſting covenant; that while you live here, you may not live to yourſelves, but to the glory of God; and when you have finiſhed your courſe here below, you may lay down your heads in peace, and enter into everlaſting reſt with the faithful: here all tears ſhall be wiped away from their eyes,[b] and everlaſting joy and gladneſs ſhall be the portion of your inheritance.

Let me therefore, friends, ſpeak freely, and be open-hearted unto you, and conſider you my words in the fear of God, for I am preſſed in ſpirit to write to you.

Firſt, Have you all turned yourſelves to God, who was the teacher of Adam, while in his innocency; who was the teacher of the Iſraelites, through his prophets, and of the true Chriſtians through his Son Jeſus; through whom he ſpeaks his will, in the hearts of all true Chriſtians: if not, then are you yet erring from his Spirit, and going aſtray from the Lord, who is the teacher of the new covenant.[c]

Secondly, Know you the *end* and *deſign* of the coming of Chriſt? Are you come to an inward experience of what the ſame is? Hearken to the words of his beloved diſciple, who has ſaid, "For this purpoſe the "Son of God was manifeſted, that he might (put "an end to ſin, and) deſtroy the works of the de-"vil.[d]" Do you know this by your own experience?

[a] John i. 13. and iii. 6. 1 Pet. i. 23. [b] Rev. xxi. 4. [c] Heb. i. 2. [d] John iii. 8.

Ah!

Ah! Deceive not yourſelves: where, pray, does ſin dwell? And where are the works of the devil? Are they not in the hearts of men and women? Is not that the ſeat of *wickedneſs*, the tabernacle of *ſin*, the temple of the *devil?*[e] Have not men there worſhipped his ſpirit? Have not men there bowed down before him? And are not all ſuch born of his evil ſeed? Muſt not Chriſt, who is the *Seed* of God, bruiſe his *head*, there deſtroy his work, and take his kingdom from him? The ſoul, which by Satan is defiled, and kept in captivity, muſt not Chriſt redeem it, purify it, and ſave it; that it may be changed, and ſeaſoned with the divine ſeed, and ſo come to bear the holy image of the ſame; to that end that Chriſt may come to dwell in a *pure heart*, and that God may be worſhipped in his own *evangelical* temple, in his own Spirit in man and woman? What of theſe things are you truly come to know? And what have you felt thereof? Chriſt is therefore come into the world, even for that very end is he called Jeſus, *viz.* that he ſhould "ſave his peo-"ple from their ſins:[f]" and to that end has John directed all to him, by theſe words, "Behold the "Lamb of God, which taketh away the ſin of the "world.[g]"

Look, now, to yourſelves, O inhabitants of Chriſtendom, whether he has taken away your ſins, and what thoſe ſins are: examine and try yourſelves, by his holy light, from what evil things you are now redeemed, which you were before ſubject unto; for Chriſt ſaves no man from the wrath of God, whom he hath not firſt redeemed from ſin: for, "the wages of "ſin is death[h]" and "whatſoever men ſow, that "they ſhall reap," in the great and laſt day of judgment.

To whom then do you live, my friends, and in what life? Do you live in the life of God and Chriſt, wherein the ſaints of old did live, whoſe "lives were

[e] Rev. xiii. [f] Mat. i. 21. [g] John i. 29. [h] Rom. vi. 23.

" hid with Chriſt in God;[j]" and who did live, becauſe " Chriſt lived in them?" Is the old wine, and alſo the old bottles, put away? Is the old man, with all his deeds, put off? The old evil and corrupt ground, which brings forth all evil and corrupt fruits, is that burnt up by the fire of God? For " his word " is like a fire:[k]" the old heavens, the old ſervice of God, peace, gladneſs, and the old worſhip, which altogether are as dead in the fallen nature, are they " rolled up as a ſcroll, and veſture, and melted " through the ſtrong heat of the burning and judging " Spirit of God?" Are you become as *new bottles*, which receive the *new wine* of the kingdom of God, which endures for ever? Have you, my friends, " put " on the new man, which after God is created in " righteouſneſs, and in true holineſs?[l]" Can you feel that there is brought forth in you the *new heaven*, and the *new earth*, wherein righteouſneſs dwelleth? Conſider you, who truly and ſincerely ſeek to know the Lord, and his works in you, and " ſpend not your " money for that which is not bread, nor your labour " for that which ſatisfieth not,[m]" nor will profit any thing in the day of account; that your ſouls be not deceived; but that you may be ſaved in the day of the Lord.

Come, you that are *weary* and *heavy laden*, and you that hunger and thirſt after *righteouſneſs*, and deſire to walk in the purity and righteouſneſs of the ſaints: be it known unto you, that Jeſus Chriſt, who can diſcharge, eaſe, help, and ſave you all, he is near you, and ſtands at the *door* of your hearts, and that he waits to be gracious to you; he knocks, that you may open unto him:[n] it is he who has viſited you with his ſaving light, whereby he has manifeſted your ſtate and condition to you; and begotten an holy feeling in you, whereby you are become weary of your evil doings; and raiſes up an holy thirſt in you after better

[j] Col. iii. 4. [k] Jer. xxiii. 29. [l] Eph. iv. 24. [m] Iſa. lv. 2. [n] Rev. iii. 20. Iſa. xxx. 18.

things.

things. Now then, if you desire and expect ever to be filled, and satisfied from him, then must you receive him as he is revealed, and as his holy will is made known in your hearts; and keep yourselves under his holy judgments and reproofs: for "the re-"proofs of instruction are the way of eternal life.[o]" Love, therefore, that which reproves you for evil; and turn from those evils for which you are reproved: "For Zion shall be redeemed through judgment, and "her converts with righteousness.[p]" Love, I say, the judgments of Christ, and submit thereunto, and wait for him, to feel him yet more and more, that you thus may say, with one of old, "In the way of thy "judgments, O Lord, have we waited for thee:[q]" and, "with our souls have we desired thee in the "night season; and with our spirits within us will we "seek thee early: for when thy judgments are in the "earth, the inhabitants of the world will learn righ-"teousness:"—"For judgment," said Christ, "am "I come into this world:[r]" that is, as an holy light, to make manifest, and as a righteous judge, to condemn all unrighteousness of men: and all those that love his reproofs, and willingly suffer his chastisings and fatherly rebukes, they shall see "Judgment "brought forth unto victory,[s]" and that the *prince* of this *world*, the corrupt root, the corrupt nature, ground, or origin, in you, as well as the evil fruits, and ungodly works thereof, shall be *judged*. And when this is done, and is fulfilled, then you shall know what it is to sing his high praises in truth and righteousness: then you shall come to sing the song of the Lamb[t]; and know that you, by that Lamb, are redeemed and saved.

But it may be some will ask, 'Who is able to per-'form so great and blessed a work?' Fear not, you that seek the kingdom of God, and his righteousness, with all your hearts: for God has laid *help* upon

[o] Prov. vi. 23. [p] Isa. i. 27. and iv. 4. [q] Isa. xxvi. 8, 9.
[r] John ix. 39. [s] Mat. xii. 20. [t] Rev. v. 9.

one that is *mighty*,[n] viz. upon Jeſus Chriſt, and he ſhall make your ſins known unto you, and redeem you from all unrighteouſneſs, if you will walk in his light, as his beloved diſciple ſpeaks, ſaying, "If we walk "in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellow-"ſhip one with another, and the blood of Jeſus Chriſt "cleanſeth us from all ſin." And therefore, friends, if you will be ſaved by the blood of Chriſt, then muſt you leave and forſake all which the light of Chriſt does condemn in you; yea, you muſt watch againſt your own thoughts, words and deeds, that you at unawares may not be overcome by the enemy of your ſouls: for he comes as a thief in the night, to deſtroy you. Do not live nor act ſo as to *grieve* the Holy Spirit of God;[o] but turn your minds from all evil, in thoughts, words, and deeds; yea, if you love the light of Chriſt, then bring your deeds every day to the light, and ſee whether they are wrought in God, or no: for "all things that are reproved," or *juſtified*, "are made manifeſt by the light; for whatſoever doth "make manifeſt is light:[p]" and that light *burns as an oven*[q] againſt all unrighteouſneſs; yea, it is like a *refiner's fire*; for it is the fiery part of the baptiſm of Chriſt, and therefore it is called the "*brightneſs* of "his *coming*, the *conſuming Spirit* of his *mouth*,[r]" whereby that wicked one ſhall be revealed, and burnt up, and rooted out; the thorns and briars ſhall be burned up and devoured,[s] and the filthineſs both of fleſh and ſpirit purged away. If, now, your ſins are become a burthen to you, if you thereby are wearied, and if you heartily deſire that they may be weakened in you, and at laſt conquered alſo, then let the "holy "watch of Jeſus" be ſincerely and earneſtly kept in your hearts; which *watch* is in the *light*; for in darkneſs is no ſafe nor true watching. Watch, therefore, with the light of Chriſt, wherewith you are enlightened; watch, I ſay, againſt every unfruitful thought,

[n] Pſal. lxxxix. 19. [o] Eph. iv. 30. [p] Eph. v. 13. [q] Mal. iii. [r] 2 Theſſ. ii. 8. [s] Iſa. x. 17.

word,

word, and work of darkneſs: ſtand upon your guard in the bleſſed light, and be you armed therewith, like the ſaints of old, that you may diſcern the enemy, and reſiſt him, when, and howſoever, he does appear and approach unto you; that ſo he may not overcome you, but that you may obtain victory over him: for when he ſees his allurements ineffectual, his ſnares diſcovered and broken, (as this is done in the light of Chriſt) then is he weakened in his attempts, and your ſouls grow ſtronger to reſiſt him, until at laſt he be wholly defeated and conquered: for this was the way of the ancients, who were more than conquerors,[t] who walking after the light and ſpirit of Jeſus, were redeemed from condemnation, which will come upon all thoſe that live after the fleſh. O! this *light*, and this *grace*, bringeth ſalvation! For it teacheth us "to "deny ungodlineſs, and worldly luſts," which *bring* condemnation, "and to live ſoberly, righteouſly, and "godly in this preſent world.[u]" And this is the only living way to the everlaſting reſt and peace of God. This was the teacher of the ſaints, this was Paul's refuge and comfort in his greateſt temptations. "My "grace," ſaid the Lord, "is ſufficient for thee.[x]" And as it has been in times paſt, ſo is it in this our day, to all them that come to receive it, embrace it, and love it, and who are willing to be guided by it, and follow it; and to them ſaid the Lord, "Depart you "from all evil ways, from all vain uſes and cuſtoms, "and from the vanities of this world. Receive you "my counſel, which is the living oracle, or the voice "of God, and the fountain of all wiſdom; and do "not hew out to yourſelves ciſterns, broken ciſterns, "that can hold no water.[y]"

Thirdly, Are your preachers and teachers ſent by God, or by *men*[z]? How are they come to be your teachers? Conſider of this ſeriouſly: are they of thoſe that have accompanied with Jeſus? Are they inſtructed

[t] Rom. viii. 14. 37. [u] Titus ii. 11, 12. [x] 2 Cor. xii. 9.
[y] Iſa. lii. 11. Prov. viii. 1, &c. Jer. ii. 13. [z] Gal. i. 1.

and ſanctified by him? Are they born again? Have they received their commiſſions, and are they ſent forth by him? Are they true and faithful witneſſes? Have they *heard*, *ſeen*, *taſted*, and *handled* that which they ſpeak and deliver unto you?[a] Is it the living word which they preach unto you? Or do they, by their *own* ſpirit and underſtanding, in their own time and will, explain and interpret thoſe matters, which the ſaints of old, and the primitive Chriſtians, ſpake forth as they were moved by the Holy Ghoſt? If it be ſo, then have they not received ſuch work, or ſuch victory, through the Holy Spirit in themſelves, as the ſaints had experience of.[b]

Fourthly, Do your preachers turn your minds to the *light* of *Chriſt*, (that is, the *life* in him) which ſhines in your *hearts*; which alone diſcovers *ſin* to the creature, and ſhews every man what the Lord doth *require* of him[c]? Do they direct you to that light which did lead the ſaints of old; and, by their *believing* in the light, made them *children* of light; wherein the "nations of them that are ſaved ſhall walk?[d]" Do they turn you, I ſay, to this light, to this grace and ſpirit, in yourſelves, which cometh by Jeſus Chriſt? Does your knowledge, feeling, experience, and worſhip, conſiſt in the revelations and works of this bleſſed principle of God's begetting in you? So that your faith and hope conſiſt not in words *only* (though they may be all true in words) nor in the education of an outward religious perſuaſion by vain teachers; but that your faith and hope are grounded, and builded upon the "power of the living God," who giveth victory over the world, unto all thoſe, who, in their hearts, believe in the light of Jeſus:[e] and this bleſſed hope purifies the heart, and fortifies the ſoul.

Fifthly, When you come to your meetings, both preachers and people, what do you do? Do you then

[a] Mat. xxviii. 19. Acts i. 4, 5, 8. 1 John i. 1. [b] 2 Pet. i. 21. [c] Acts xxvi. 18. Micah vi. 8. [d] John xii. 26. Rev. xxi. 23, 24. [e] 1 John v. 4.

gather

gather bodily only, and kindle a *fire*, compaſſing yourſelves about with the *ſparks* of your *own* kindling, and ſo pleaſe yourſelves, and walk in the "Light of "your own fire, and in the ſparks which you have "kindled," as thoſe did in the time of old, whoſe portion it was "to lie down in ſorrow?[f]" Or rather, do you ſit down in *true ſilence*, reſting from your own will and workings, and waiting upon the Lord, with your minds fixed in that *light*, wherewith Chriſt has enlightened you, until the Lord breathes life in you, refreſheth you, and prepares you, and your ſpirits and ſouls, to make you fit for his ſervice, that you may offer unto him a pure and ſpiritual ſacrifice?[g] For "that which is born of the fleſh, is fleſh; and he "that ſoweth to his fleſh, ſhall of the fleſh reap cor-"ruption:[h]" For "fleſh and blood cannot inherit the "kingdom of God: but he that ſoweth to the Spirit, "ſhall of the Spirit reap life eternal,[i]" through Chriſt, who has quickened him.

What have you felt then, my friends, of this work in your hearts? Has Chriſt there appeared? What has he done for you? Have you bowed down before him, and received him in your hearts? Is he *formed* in you? Do you live *no more*, but does Chriſt live *in* you? For if you know not Chriſt to be *in* you, then are you yet *reprobates*,[k] though you confeſs him in words, as the apoſtle ſaid of old.

All you, therefore, that hunger and thirſt after the righteouſneſs of God's kingdom, which is an everlaſting bleſſed kingdom, turn in, my friends, and come to Chriſt, who ſtands at the door of your hearts, and knocks.[l] He is the "light of the world," and it concerns all true ſervants of the Lord, to direct all men to this light; elſe have they not a right diſcerning, nor true ſight or taſte of the things of God, viz. "To turn men from darkneſs to light," from the

[f] Iſa. l. 11. [g] Lam. iii. 25, 26, 28. John i. 9. [h] John iii. 6. Gal. vi. 8. [i] 1 Cor. xv. 50. [k] Gal. iv. 19. 2 Cor. xiii. 5. [l] Rev. iii. 20.

kingdom

kingdom of Satan, to the power and kingdom of God; from the dark inventions and human traditions of men, to Chriſt, the great light of God, the High Prieſt, and holy Prophet, whom all men muſt hear, and out of whoſe mouth the law of the Spirit of life muſt be received.[m] By this he judges men in righteouſneſs, and in him are hid all the "treaſures of "wiſdom and knowledge.[n]" This is the High Prieſt of all true Chriſtians, and their chief treaſure.

Happy, therefore, are all thoſe that receive him in their hearts, thoſe that know him to be their light, their Guide, their King, their Law-giver, their Biſhop, and their heavenly Shepherd; who follow him through all things, and through all perſecutions and ſufferings, and that ſtedfaſtly love his croſs (the power of God) and with all gladneſs embrace the reproach thereof; who have experienced, that *without* Chriſt they can do nothing;[o] and therefore wait for his divine power, ſtrength, and wiſdom, to govern and guide them: for ſuch can receive no teſtimony from any preachers, except that teſtimony which is given from the holy unction, in and through them;[p] becauſe men, without Chriſt, can do nothing, as he has ſaid: for men cannot preach, men cannot pray, men cannot ſing as it ought to be; yea, men, without him, can do nothing to the praiſe and glory of God: for it is only the *Son* of God that glorifies the *Father* through his children.

And therefore let him kindle the fire with the pure coals from his holy altar; and do not you offer to him in your ſelf-will; no, Jeſus did not do his *own* will, but the will of his *Father*.[q] So let us not do our own, but *his* will; he has done nothing but what his Father had made *known* unto him: and we muſt all witneſs what Chriſt has declared unto us, and what he has wrought in us, or elſe we ſhould be falſe witneſſes.[r] "Woman," ſaid Chriſt to his mother, "mine hour "is not yet come:" ſo that he did wait his Father's

[m] Rom. viii. 2. [n] Col. ii. 3. [o] John xv. 5. [p] 1 John ii. 20.
[q] John vi. 38. iii. 11. [r] 1 John i. 3.

time,

time, in whoſe hands the times and ſeaſons are: we muſt *wait*, but God *orders*; and happy are thoſe who do his will. "My ſheep," ſaid Chriſt, "hear my "voice, and follow me; but they will not hear the "voice of ſtrangers.[s]" Now thoſe that ſpeak, if their voices and converſations are not with the life, the power, and the Spirit of Chriſt, they are ſtrange voices (I pray you obſerve well); and Chriſt's ſheep will not ſit under *ſuch* voices, nor under *ſuch* ſhepherds; who do but *ſteal* the words of the prophets[t] and apoſtles, but do not *experience* them, nor ſucceed them in their ſpirits and converſations; for Chriſt's ſheep do diſcern thoſe that *ſo* teach, from *his*, for he has given them that ſpiritual gift to *ſee* them; which is not to be had nor found in the crafty wiſdom of the world, with all its human learnings, arts and ſciences; but ſtands in the innocent nature of the *true ſheep*, and for them it is like *natural*; viz. ſouls that are become harmleſs, and are arrived at the ſtate of a *little child*; for to ſuch doth God reveal his ſecrets; becauſe, by the work of regeneration, they are become his own begotten; and to ſuch belongs the kingdom of God, and the knowledge of the myſteries thereof.

Wherefore, pray take notice how it is with you: is ſin revealed? Yes: through what? By the light of Chriſt. But is ſin likewiſe judged? Have you ſubmitted yourſelves to his light? And are you therewith united? Is your old ſelf-righteouſneſs thereby judged? And are thereby all your falſe judgments judged? Is the prince of this world judged in you? Does Chriſt go *before* you? And does he give you eternal life? Examine and ſearch yourſelves, for thus he deals with his ſheep: "I go before them, they follow me, and, behold, I give them life eternal.[u]" Does Chriſt go before you, and lead you in all your worſhip, which you do as your bounden duty to God? Do you wait for his leadings? Is it the religion of Chriſt wherein you walk? Read his holy ſermon on the mount. Or

[s] John x. 27. [t] Jer. xxiii. 30. [u] John x. 4.

elſe,

elſe, do you go before *him*, and do you climb up *another* way,[x] before he ſtirs in you, before he moves you, before he gives you power and ability to approach his throne? Ah! true ſilence before the Lord is better abundantly than *forward* prayers, and *ſelf-willed* offers, or any traditional and formal performances: for conſider, that it is "life eternal to know God.[y]" Now, no man can know him, who has not heard his voice: and no man can hear his voice, who is not ſilent in himſelf, and waits not patiently for him, that he may "hear what God will ſpeak to his ſoul,"[z] through Jeſus, the great, holy, and heavenly High Prieſt of God to mankind, who is the heavenly Prophet alſo, unto all them that believe in his name. But, my friends, do you know the fellowſhip of his holy life, of his bleſſed croſs, death, and reſurrection?[a] Do you confeſs him inwardly in yourſelves, as well as outwardly before men? If ſo, then has he given you life eternal. Again, if you feel not in you "life and "immortality brought to light,[b]" then are you yet in your ſins, and know not the "Lamb of God, who "taketh away the ſin of the world.[c]" For "as "many as received him, to them gave he power to "become the children of God.[d]" And they know, by the witneſs of God in themſelves, that they are "of God," as ſaid the beloved diſciple John, "and "the whole world lieth in wickedneſs.[e]"

Beloved friends, beware therefore of *idolatry*, and worſhipping of *images*; I mean the worſhip of *inward* images, which is an *inward* idolatry; for if you ſhew a great averſion againſt all outward idolatry, yet if you worſhip God after the imaginations you have of God, and which you conceive in your own minds, without the inſpiration of the Almighty, you worſhip images of your own framing, and ſo come to commit idolatry. And therefore take heed that your worſhip

[x] John x. i. 8. [y] John xvii. 3. [z] Pſ. lxxxv. 8. [a] Phil. iii. 10, 11. [b] 2 Tim. i. 10. [c] John i. 29. [d] John i. 12. [e] 1 John v. 19.

does

does not conſiſt in your own imaginations, and ſelf-conceits of God; and do not bow down to ſuch, (which is, indeed, to *yourſelves*) and then think, or preſume, that you are bowing down to God and Chriſt; when, on the contrary, it is nothing elſe but a mere picture of your own making. And this is the great abomination[f] and loſs of poor Chriſtendom, viz. That the ſpirit which deceives man, "ſits in the place of "God, and is worſhipped as God,[g]" by thoſe that know not the true and living God, who is as a conſuming fire, and as everlaſting burnings in the ſoul, againſt the ſin, righteouſneſs, and judgment of the world.[h]

Now he that revealeth the Father, is the Son, the true light: for he has ſaid, "No man knoweth the "Father, but the Son, and he to whom the Son will "reveal him.[i]" How has Chriſt revealed the Father unto you? Are you come to Jeſus? If ſo, then you have known the godly ſorrow, the true mourning, and that repentance which men need never to repent of: but if you have not known this day of judgment and contrition, then are you not come to Chriſt. Wherefore come you to Jeſus, viz. to his appearance in you, by his divine light and ſpirit, which every way diſcovers and judges the world's nature, ſpirit, and image in you: for to him is all judgment committed, and he will reveal the Father; yea, "he that hath ſeen the "Son, has likewiſe ſeen the Father;[k]" for he is *in* the Father, and the Father is in *him*. If, now, the manifeſtation of Jeſus in you, as well of the Father as of the Son, is the foundation of your knowledge, ſo that God and Chriſt, "whom to know is life eter-"nal,[l]" are become the holy Object of your worſhip; then are you real worſhippers in his ſpirit and truth; then are you come out from the workmanſhip, from the will and imaginations of your own ſpirits, and

[f] Dan. xii. 11. [g] 2 Theſſ. ii. 4. [h] John xvi. 8. [i] Mat. xi. 27. [k] John xiv. 10, 11. [l] John iv. 24.

from

from all human worſhip, and are come to the worſhip of the Spirit of the living God, and to live in him, be led and moved by him in all godly performances; for the *ſpirit* of *man* only knows the *things* of *man*, but the *Spirit* of GOD knows and reveals the *things* of God.[m] And this worſhip of his kingdom and church has Chriſt raiſed up again in theſe our days, which was ſet up by Chriſt ſixteen hundred years ago. And in this worſhip have the true followers worſhipped the Father, before the great apoſtacy from the ſpirit and power of the Lord broke in upon the primitive ages of the church: and after ſuch a glorious manner ſhall it be reſtored; yea, ſo it is already with many thouſands, whom God, through the appearance of Chriſt in the heart, has gathered, both in our and other countries, whereby he has judged them as men in the fleſh (in their fleſhly luſts, in their fleſhly worſhips) that they might live unto God and Chriſt, who quickened them by the death of the croſs, and juſtified them as men in the Spirit riſen from the dead.

Glory be therefore to God, who lives and reigns on high, that that dark and ſorrowful night is vaniſhing, and that the ſun-riſing of the eternal day has already appeared, and is ariſing more and more over the nations in the world; in which day, "Babylon, the "mother of harlots, [falſe-worſhippers] ſhall come "in remembrance before the God of the whole earth;[n]" viz. That Babylon, which has followed *merchandizing* with the *ſcripture*, and with the *ſouls of men*, and has perſecuted the ſpiritual ſeed, the children of God, and faithful witneſſes of Jeſus (although clothed in *ſackcloth*); becauſe they would not receive her *mark*,[o] and her *fine linen* too, nor ſubmit to her fleſhly birth, invention, profeſſion, worſhip, and dominion.

This Babylon lives but too much yet in every one, of all ſorts of people or profeſſors, by whom the truth

[m] 1 Cor. ii. 11. John iv. 23. [n] Rev. xvi. 19. [o] Rev. xviii. 13. xi. 3. xiii. 16.

is

is held in unrighteouſneſs. When they ſee not through the light of the Sprit of Chriſt, and when their knowledge and worſhip of God is not received and performed by that ſame bleſſed Spirit; there, I ſay, is Babylon, that is, *confuſion:* "Oh, come out of her, "my people!" ſaith the Lord, "and I will receive "you."

He that calls God his Father, and is not *born* of God; he that calls Chriſt Lord, and not by the Holy Spirit, but mean while is ſerving another maſter; thoſe that attribute to themſelves the words of the *regenerated*, their revelations and experiences, when they are yet *unregenerated*, and have no part therein, but endeavour in all theſe things to make themſelves a fair covering; they ſhall experience, in the day of the Lord, that it ſhall profit them nothing: for "Wo to "thoſe," ſaid the Lord, "that cover with a covering, "and not of my Spirit; that take counſel, but not "of me.[p]" Let, therefore, all thoſe that are yet in Babylon, haſten out of her ſpeedily; and you that are in the *ſuburbs* of that great city, haſten you away; yea, make haſte with all ſpeed! prepare yourſelves to meet the Lamb, your bridegroom; who comes now to you, who are mourning, hungering, and thirſting, after him, to lead you out of your bewildered ſtates, to his ſaving light, and bleſſed appearance; for now he ſees you, and now he calls you, and knocks at your doors to come in unto you: and therefore open ye unto him, and let him in; let him no longer lie in the manger,[q] nor at your doors; but rather give him your hearts, and let him reign over you as a King, for he has bought us with his own precious blood, and is therefore worthy that we ſerve and honour him, and that he reign over us; and that he be our King and Lawgiver, who gave his own life for us, that we ſhould not periſh, but have everlaſting life in him.[r] He has laid down his life for you, and can you not

[p] Iſa. xxx. 1. [q] Luke ii. 7. [r] John iii. 16.

lay

lay down your ſins for his ſake; yea, for your own ſakes? Conſider that he deſcended from the glory of his Father, to bring you to glory; and can you not depart from the withering glory of this world, that you may inherit his glory, which is everlaſting? It is that wrong falſe ſelf, in man, which only hinders it; it is that only which objects againſt it, that conſults, and endeavours to avoid the croſs.

This *ſelf*, has in all times been deſirous to be in great eſteem, and has therefore, in all ages, hindered men from doing the will of God on earth, as it is in heaven: but where *ſelf* is diſannulled, and men have had no great eſteem for the ſelfiſh part, but have humbled themſelves to the death of the croſs of Chriſt, that he might deliver them from the "wrath to "come," and give them "an inheritance in the "kingdom of his Father," there the will of God will be done on earth, as it is in heaven, and therein will the heavenly Father be glorified. On the contrary, thoſe that live in ſin, they are in communion with the devil, and drink his cup of unrighteouſneſs: which, however it is ſweet in the mouth, is afterwards bitter in the belly; and though it be ſweet here for a time, it ſhall afterwards be crabbed and diſtaſteful. Again, the cup of Chriſt is here bitter in the mouth, but ſweet hereafter in the belly; here ſour, but hereafter pleaſant: "You," ſaid he, "ſhall weep and la-"ment, but the world ſhall rejoice:[s]" but obſerve the end hereof; "Your ſorrow ſhall be turned into "joy, but their rejoicing into weeping."

And this is therefore the word of truth; no man ſhall enjoy the cup of bleſſing, or drink out of the cup of ſalvation, but he that has firſt drank of the cup of tribulation; he that has firſt known his fellowſhip with the ſufferings of Chriſt, and of his holy myſtical croſs: for thoſe that ſuffer with him, ſhall reign with him, and no croſs, no crown.

[s] John xvi. 20.

Lean

Lean then upon his breaſt, for ſo does the bride in ſpirit. Truſt in him, and not in man,[t] nor in yourſelves; for he will guide you beſt, becauſe he is given you of God to be your heavenly guide. And if it ſhould be in a way under the croſs (which way is proper to him) yet it is, notwithſtanding, a way of joy and pleaſantneſs, and all his holy paths are peace to thoſe that love him. O, therefore, feel his holy drawings, and wait in his light upon his holy movings in your ſouls! "*Stand ſtill*, and ſee his *ſalvation* "wrought in you, by his *own arm*,[u]" that you may know him to be Jeſus indeed; viz. a *Saviour*, as well from your *ſins here*, as from the *wrath to come*; and that he may preſerve you from vain thoughts, vain words, and vain converſations, yea, from the voluntary worſhip of this world, and from the ſlaviſh fear of man; to the end, that he may work his own work in you, and make you conformable to his own bleſſed image; and that you may be made free by the Lord, through the power of his everlaſting goſpel, which is now again ſounded forth, by his own angel, to the inhabitants of the earth, calling with a loud voice, "Fear God, and give glory to him, for the hour of "his judgment is come.[w]" And you muſt feel this judgment in your hearts, that the prince of this world, with all his evil *ſeed*, with all his wrong *plants* and appearances, may be judged in you;[x] and that you may be witneſſes upon earth for God, and the Lamb, that ſits upon the throne, againſt all darkneſs of men and devils; nay, againſt death, hell, and the grave; and that God may bleſs you with all ſorts of bleſſings in Chriſt Jeſus.

But yet I find myſelf preſſed in ſpirit to give you one warning more, viz. that you would not longer uſe vain words (though true in themſelves) becauſe they are worth nothing; for they take God's name in vain,

[t] Cant. viii. 5. Jer. xvii. 5. [u] Exod. xiv. 13, 14. [w] Rev. xiv. 6, 7. [x] Mat. xv. 13.

that uſe it without life and power: and I intreat all thoſe that endeavour to know God, and come up to the true life of his dear Son, that you make no profeſſion of worſhip, without the feeling, preparing, and ordering of the true and overcoming power of God; for ſuch worſhip is not of God, and ſuch profeſſors are poor, lean, naked and miſerable people; yea, they are only as chaff among the corn: and therefore beware you of "that woman Jezabel, the falſe pro-"pheteſs,[y]" of whom the early Chriſtians were warned, who has the *words*, but not the *life*, of the Son of God: her preaching tends to death; ſhe makes a talk of the ſound and fame of wiſdom, but will not afterwards harbour her, when ſhe cries in her ſtreets; ſhe awakens none, ſhe brings no man to God; ſhe does not build up in the heavenly work, nor adminiſter the right ſpiritual bread to the ſoul: for Chriſt only is the bread which gives life eternal;[z] and thoſe that will eat of this bread, muſt firſt come to him; let him into their hearts, as Lord and Maſter, to provide and order his to his praiſe; and as ſuch muſt he be received, when he appears in their ſouls, even as a "refiner's fire, "and as a fuller's ſoap,[a]" to purify and refine from all unrighteouſneſs; yea, to reveal unto men their ſins, and deſtroy the ſame with the brightneſs of his coming, and with the Spirit of his mouth, in which no deceit is found. He is that light, in the brightneſs of his coming, which you muſt love, and whoſe teſtimony you muſt keep; and he is the quickening Spirit, whoſe breath of his mouth revives the ſoul, and deſtroys the ſin that ſlays it: for all thoſe that come to receive him in this office, in this way, and in this work, ſhall alſo know, that he is the "Lamb of "God, which taketh away the ſin of the world," the ſpiritual paſſover, the heavenly bread, the true vine, which bringeth forth the new wine of the kingdom; the bleſſed olive-tree; yea, the tree of life, and eternal ſalvation, which grows in the midſt of the paradiſe

[y] Rev. ii. 20. [z] John vi. 32, 33, 35, 51. [a] Mal. iii. 2.

of

of God, whoſe leaves are for the healing of the nations.[b]

This is a ſalutation to you all, from the holy and fervent love which God has poured into my heart and ſoul; who am in a travail to help the nations to be gathered to Chriſt, the light and ſalvation thereof; that Zion may be the joy, and Jeruſalem the praiſe, of the whole earth.[c] Amen, Amen.

W. PENN.

[b] John i. 29. 1 Cor. v. 7. John vi. 51. xv. 1. Rom. xi. 24. Rev. ii. 7. [c] Iſa. lx. 3. lxii. 7.

TRAVELS

IN

HOLLAND

AND

GERMANY.

THE PREFACE to the READER.

THIS enſuing journal of my travels in Holland and Germany, in the ſervice of the goſpel of my Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, was written for my own, and ſome relations and particular friends ſatiſfaction, as the long time it hath lain ſilent doth ſhew: but a copy that was found amongſt the late counteſs of Conway's papers falling into the hands of a perſon that much frequented that family, he was earneſt with me, both by himſelf and others, to have leave to publiſh it for a common good: which, upon peruſal, I have found a willingneſs to comply with, hoping that the Lord will make the reading of it effectual to ſome into whoſe hands it may fall; as well thoſe who have received a diſpenſation of the ſame miniſtry, for their encouragement in their publick ſervice for God, as thoſe who are under the ſame miniſtry, unto zeal and faithfulneſs.

For it is the glorious goſpel day, in which God is exalting his dear Son, as Prophet, Prieſt, and King, in the hearts of his people. Oh! that the nations would hear him, their only ſaving health, and Iſrael's great Shepherd, who takes care of his ſheep, that hear his voice, and gives unto them that follow him, in the daily croſs, unto regeneration, eternal life; and who hath ſent, and is ſending forth, his ſervants, to gather home the ſheep, that are gone aſtray in all nations, that ſo there may be but one Shepherd, and one ſheepfold, according to the glorious promiſe made to theſe latter times; in which he ſaid he would be the "teacher of his people himſelf:" for he is teaching thouſands, by the light, ſpirit, and grace of his

Son

Son CHRIST, in whom he is well pleaſed. To this, God hath ſent forth his ſervants, in this day, to turn all people, as God's call and viſitation to the nations. And bleſſed are all thoſe that hearken to this teſtimony, both mediately and immediately.

For God is awaking men to the knowledge of his glory, in the face or appearance of Chriſt, by his Spirit in their hearts and conſciences; which reveals to men the Father, yea, the deep things of God.

Oh! that they would hear, and fear, and learn the things that make for their eternal peace! For if the righteous ſcarcely are ſaved, where, O where, ſhall they appear that neglect ſo great ſalvation! A ſalvation that comes ſo *near* them, as to knock at the door of their hearts; that ſearches them, and tries their reins, and tells unto them their moſt inward thoughts, and brings a line of judgment over all their words and works. This is Chriſt Jeſus, the light of the world, that was given of God for ſalvation to the ends of the earth. He has *enlightened* all, and ſhines to all, and calls all, that they ſhould ſee their ſins, and be ſorry for them, and forſake them, and take up his daily croſs, and follow him, whom God hath given for an *example*, as well as a PROPITIATION for our ſins: and none can know him to be their propitiation, that reject him as their example and leader in their lives and converſations. Wherefore, reader, be ſerious, inward, and inquiſitive, for thy ſoul's ſake. What faith haſt thou? One that overcomes the world; or one that the ſpirit of the world overcomes, which is not the faith of God's elect, without which we cannot pleaſe God? For that faith works by *love*; ſuch a love to God as will not offend him, but ſeeks his glory through a moſt willing obedience to his holy will. Bleſſed are the ſouls in which this love dwells; for ſuch have none in heaven but God, nor in the earth in compariſon of him. As they receive all good from him, ſo they reſign all up to him; and though it be through many tribulations that they muſt attain the reſt of God, yet as nothing can ſeparate them from

his

his love, ſo neither can any thing deprive them of their reward in the end.

Wherefore, reader, be thou perſuaded to take thy lot among that bleſſed number, if thou art not yet one of them. Thou ſeeſt the way to that divine privilege; walk in it; for the end crowns all: if one of that number, that have choſen God for their portion, be diligent, zealous, and fervent in the work and ſervice of God. Redeem thy time, and run thy race with care and conſtancy; looking to Jeſus, the Author, that he may be the Finiſher of thy faith. Remember who ſaid, "There are many manſions prepared for the "faithful." Do we believe and look for another world? Let us not then live in this as if there were no other. Let our eyes be upon our better world, and live here as ſtrangers, that are but on our way to our eternal home; that ſo we may anſwer the end of God's love, by working out the ſalvation of our own ſouls, by his power, with fear and trembling; knowing God will judge all, by Chriſt Jeſus, according to the deeds done in the body.

Reader, this journal is of a religious voyage, and has ſome paſſages in it that may engage thy ſoul to ſeriouſneſs, and let thee ſee how good God is to thoſe that go on his holy errands. Mayeſt thou be heartily affected with this teſtimony of his love, and preſence with his people; and feel good deſires raiſed in thee to ſerve the Lord alſo, according to his bleſſed will, in thy day, that peace thou mayeſt know to thy ſoul when time here ſhall be no more. I am,

Thy aſſured friend in the beſt things,

W. PENN.

THE

THE JOURNAL.

BEING the first day of the week,[a] I left my dear wife and family, at Worminghurst in Sussex, in the fear and love of God; and came well to London that night.

The next day,[b] I employed myself on friends behalf, that were in sufferings, till the evening, and then went to my own mother's in Essex.

The next morning[c] I took my journey to Colchester, and met George Wats of London upon the way; who returned with me, and came well to that town that evening.

We lodged at John Furly's the elder, but had a blessed meeting at Jonathan Furly's house that night.

The next morning[d] early I left Colchester, and came to Harwich about noon, accompanied with George Wats and John Furly the elder, William Tallcoat, and J. Witherly of Colchester; where we found dear G. F. at J. Vandewall's house, with many more friends.

After dinner, we went all to the meeting; where the Lord gave us a blessed earnest of his love and presence, that should be with us in this voyage: for his holy, overcoming, refreshing power, did open all our hearts, and many of our mouths in ministry, prayer,

An. 1677. The first figure is the day of the month; the next the month; and the last the day of the week.

[a] 22. 5. 1. [b] 23. 5. 2. [c] 24. 5. 3. [d] 25. 5. 4.

and

and praiſes, to the magnifying of his own name and truth in that place.

The meeting done, we returned to John Vandewall's houſe, where we took our leave of friends; that is to ſay, of the friends of that place, with others that came with us, or met us there: and ſo we went on board of the packet-boat; where, by the ſpecial favour of the maſter of the packets to me, having formerly ſerved under my father, we had the beſt accommodation given to us. Many of the friends accompanied us to the ſhip; not leaving us till all was fixed, and then we parted in the fellowſhip of Jeſus.

Thoſe that came over, were G. Fox, R. Barclay, G. K. G. Wats, J. Furly, W. Tallcoat, J. Yeamans, E. K. myſelf, with two of our ſervants.

We ſet ſail about three in the morning, being the fifth day of the week;[e] and got the ſixth day at night[f] within half a league of the Briel.

We had good ſervice thoſe two days in the ſhip with ſeveral paſſengers, French and Dutch: and though they ſeemed at firſt to be ſhy of us, and to ſlight us, yet at laſt their hearts were much opened in kindneſs towards us, and the univerſal principle had place.

The next morning friends[g] were fetched on ſhore by a boat of Rotterdam, with ſome friends of that city, that came to the Briel to meet us. The friends that came were A. Sonneman, B. Furly, and S. Johnſon, Vettekeuken, with three young men that live at B. Furly's houſe.

After we had eaten, we took boat immediately for Rotterdam; where we arrived about noon, and where many friends came to ſee us, among whom we were comforted.

The next day, being the firſt day of the week,[h] we had two meetings at B. Furly's houſe; whither reſorted a great company of people, ſome of them being of the conſiderableſt note of that city. And Oh! bleſſed

[e] 26. 5. 5. [f] 27. 5. 6. [g] 28. 5. 7. [h] 29. 5. 1.

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be the true word of life, that never faileth them that reſt upon it, and abide in it, the goſpel was preached, the dead were raiſed, and the living comforted; and God, even our God, bore heavenly record to his only begotten Son in us: and truth is honourable in the eyes of ſeveral in that place.

The next day, being the ſecond day of the week,[i] we ſpent in viſiting friends from houſe to houſe; not in one company, being lodged in ſeveral quarters of the city. All our viſits were precious meetings; for, indeed, for that end God brought us into this land.

Several of us dined and ſupped that day at two great mens houſes, where we had bleſſed opportunities to make known unto them what was the hope of our glory; that myſtery, which to the Gentiles is now revealing, even Chriſt Jeſus, the light and life of the world, manifeſted in us.

The next day, being the third day of the week,[k] G. F. J. F. W. T. and myſelf, after having broken our faſt at A. Sonneman's, took boat for Leyden; where we came that night, in order to be at Haerlem next day, at a meeting appointed by G. F. and myſelf from Rotterdam: being accompanied by J. Bocliffs, J. Arents, J. Claus, that came from Amſterdam on purpoſe to conduct us thither.

At Haerlem we arrived about the 11th hour;[l] and went to the houſe of a good old man, that had long waited for, and is now come to behold, the conſolation and ſalvation of Iſrael.

After we had a little refreſhed ourſelves, we went to the meeting; where the Lord gave us a bleſſed opportunity, not only with reſpect to friends, but many ſober Baptiſts and profeſſors, that came in, and abode in the meeting to the end: bleſſed be the name of the Lord.

The meeting done, we went to Amſterdam, in company with ſeveral friends of that city, and of

[i] 30. 5. 2. [k] 31. 5. 3. [l] 1. 6. 4.

Alchmaer

Alchmaer and Embden, who met us at the meeting at Haerlem. We lodged at Gertruyd Dirick's houſe.

G. K. and his wife, and R. B. ſtayed over the fourth day's meeting at Rotterdam, and ſo came not till the next day; which was the day of the general meeting of friends in this country.

The fifth day of the week,[m] at G. D.'s houſe, the general meeting was held both of men and women: and the Lord, who is ſetting up his own kingdom by his own power, owned us with his own bleſſed preſence, and opened us in that wiſdom and love, that all things ended with peace, great concord and comfort: many things being ſpoken, eſpecially by our dear friend G. F. that were of good ſervice; and, I hope, will dwell with them for ever.

Theſe ſeveral things agreed upon, being of good ſavour and report, I think fit here to inſert them.

At the general meeting of friends at Amſterdam, the ſecond of the ſixth month, 1677.

1. BE it known to all men, That the power of God, the goſpel, is the authority of all our mens and womens meetings; that every heir of that power is an heir of that authority, and ſo becometh a living member of right of either of thoſe meetings, and of the heavenly fellowſhip and order in which they ſtand; which is not of man, nor by man.

2. That each monthly meeting have a collection apart; and alſo that there be another collection quarterly at Amſterdam from each meeting for general ſervices; and that it be not diſpoſed of, but by the conſent of the ſaid quarterly meeting.

3. It is agreed upon, that henceforth a yearly meeting be held here at Amſterdam; unto which friends in the Palatinate, Hamburgh, Lubeck, and Frederickſtadt, &c. be invited: of which meeting there ſhall

[m] 2. 6. 5.

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be given notice to the friends of the yearly meeting in London, to be kept always on the fifth day of that week, which is fully the third week following after the yearly meeting at London.

4. It is alſo agreed upon, that henceforth this general meeting is to be changed into a quarterly meeting: and that the firſt quarterly meeting hereafter ſhall be on the ſecond fifth-day of the ninth month following, and ſo forth every quarter on the ſecond fifth-day of the month. This ſecond of the ninth month is to be this firſt quarterly meeting.

5. It is alſo agreed, that henceforth a monthly meeting in Frieſland ſhould be eſtabliſhed, as alſo at Rotterdam; and that on the ſecond ſecond-day of each month: and at Harlingen upon the third third-day of the month.

6. Farther, that in the interim, the friends of Alchmaer, Haerlem, and Waterland, are to have their monthly meeting with friends at Amſterdam: and to begin the ſaid meeting the ſixth of the ſeventh month, and ſo forth; always upon the firſt ſecond-day of the firſt week of the month, at the eighth hour.

7. And farther concerning goſpel order: though the doctrine of Chriſt Jeſus requireth his people to admoniſh a brother or ſiſter twice, before they tell the church; yet that limiteth none, ſo as they ſhall uſe no longer forbearance before they tell the church: but that they ſhall not leſs than twice admoniſh their brother or ſiſter, before they tell the church. And it is deſired of all, that before they publickly complain, they wait, in the power of God, to feel if there is no more required of them to their brother or ſiſter, before they expoſe him or her to the church. Let this be weightily conſidered.

8. And farther, when the church is told, and the party admoniſhed by the church again and again, and he or ſhe remain ſtill unſenſible and unreconciled; let not final judgment go forth againſt him or her, till every one of the meeting hath cleared his or her conſcience: that if any thing be inſiſted upon any farther

ther to viſit ſuch a tranſgreſſor, they may clear themſelves; if poſſibly the party may be reached and ſaved. And after all are clear of the blood of ſuch an one, let the judgment of friends, in the power of God, go forth againſt him or her, as moved for the Lord's honour and glory's ſake: that no reproach may come or reſt upon God's holy name, truth, and people.

9. As much as poſſibly can be, let all differences be ended by ſome honeſt friends; and trouble not the monthly or quarterly meetings with them: and if that will not do, proceed to your particular monthly meetings. But if they be not there ended neither, then take aſide ſix honeſt friends out of the quarterly meeting, and let them hear and determine the matter. And in caſe any perſon or perſons be ſo obſtinate, as that they refuſe the ſenſe and love of friends, and will not comply with them, then to proceed towards them according to the way of truth in ſuch caſes.

10. That all ſuch as behold their brother or ſiſter in a tranſgreſſion, go not in a rough, light, or upbraiding ſpirit to reprove or admoniſh him or her, but in the power of the Lord, and Spirit of the Lamb, in the wiſdom and love of the truth, which ſuffereth thereby, to admoniſh ſuch an offender. So may the ſoul of ſuch a brother or ſiſter be ſeaſonably and effectually reached unto, and overcome, and have cauſe to bleſs the name of the Lord on their behalf: and ſo a bleſſing may be rewarded into the boſom of the faithful and tender brother or ſiſter that ſo admoniſheth.

11. And be it known unto all, we caſt out none from among us: for if they go from the light, and ſpirit, and power in which our unity is, they caſt out themſelves. And it has been our way to admoniſh them, that they may come to the ſpirit and light of God which they are gone from, and ſo come into the unity again. For our fellowſhip ſtandeth in the light, which the world hateth, and in the ſpirit, which the world grieveth, vexeth, and quencheth: and if they will

will not hear our admonitions, the light condemneth them; and then goeth our teſtimony out againſt them.

12. That no condemnation is to go farther than the tranſgreſſion is known; and if he or ſhe return, and give forth a condemnation againſt him or herſelf, which is more deſirable than that we ſhould do it, this is a teſtimony of his or her repentance and reſurrection before God, his people, and the whole world: as David, when Nathan came to admoniſh him, Pſal. li.

13. That no teſtimony by way of condemnation be given forth againſt any man or woman, whatever crime they commit, before admonition, and till ſuch time as they have had goſpel order, according to Chriſt's doctrine.

14. And if any brother or ſiſter hear any report of any brother or ſiſter, let him or her go to the party, and know the truth of the report; and, if true, let the thing be judged; if falſe, go then to the reporter, and let him or her be judged. And if any ſhould report it at a ſecond or third hand, without going to the party of whom the report goeth, let ſuch be brought to judgment: "For thou ſhalt neither raiſe, "nor ſuffer, a falſe report to lie upon my people, "ſaith the Lord;" for they are to be holy as he is holy, and juſt as he is juſt.

15. And if any controverſy, or weakneſs, ſhould appear in either mens or womens meetings, let it not be told out of your meetings; becauſe ſuch ſpeeches tend to the defaming of ſuch perſons and meetings, and to the hurt of the common unity, and breach of the heavenly ſociety and privilege.

This is an account of what paſſed in that meeting.

Next day,[n] notice being already given, we had a large publick meeting, in which the ſound of the everlaſting goſpel, teſtament and covenant went forth;

[n] 3. 6. 6.

and the meeting ended with a ſweet and weighty ſenſe.

That evening we had a more ſelect meeting of friends than the day before, in which the nature of marriage, and the practice of friends relating to it, and other things, were very weightily and cloſely diſcourſed. The reſolutions were theſe following:

1. A ſcruple concerning the law of the magiſtrate about marriage, being propoſed and diſcourſed of in the fear of God among friends, in a ſelect meeting, it was the univerſal and unanimous ſenſe of friends, 'That joining in marriage is the work of the Lord 'only, and not of prieſt or magiſtrate.' For it is God's ordinance, and not man's; and therefore friends cannot conſent that they ſhould join them together: for *we* marry none; it is the Lord's work, and we are but witneſſes.

2. But yet if a friend, through tenderneſs, have a deſire that the magiſtrate ſhould know it before the marriage be concluded, they may publiſh the ſame, after the thing hath by friends been found clear; and, after the marriage is performed in a publick meeting of friends and others, according to the holy order and practice of friends in truth throughout the world, (the manner of the holy men and women of old) may go and carry a copy of a certificate to the magiſtrate; and they are left to their freedom herein, that if they pleaſe they may regiſter it. But for prieſts or magiſtrates to marry, or join any in that relation, it is not according to ſcripture; and our teſtimony and practice have been always againſt it. It was God's work before the fall, and it is God's work only in the reſtoration.

3. If any friend have it upon him to reprint any book already printed, and approved either in England or here, they may do it upon their own charges.

4. It is alſo agreed, that the care of reading and approving books be laid upon ſome of every meeting; to the end no book be publiſhed but in the unity: yet any other faithful friends, not ſo nominated, are not thereby excluded. Though in all theſe caſes it is deſired,

deſired, that all would avoid unneceſſary diſputes about words, which profit not, but keep in the love that edifieth.

5. It is farther concluded, that the general ſtock of the quarterly meeting be not diſpoſed of, but by the conſent of the quarterly meeting. But if betwixt times there ſhall be a preſſing neceſſity concerning the publick, let that monthly meeting, where it ſhall fall out, lay down the money, and give in an account at the next quarterly meeting, in order to their relief, if it appear that they are thereby overcharged. And let all things be done without favour, affection, relation, or any reſpect to perſons, even for the Lord's ſake, and his bleſſed everlaſting truth; that God may bleſs and proſper his people.

And let all things be written down, both as to your monthly and quarterly meeting collections; what you receive, and what you diſburſe: that all may be fair and clear to the ſatisfaction of all that deſire to ſee and examine the books.

And the Lord's fear, and life, and power was over all, in which the Lord God preſerve his for ever.

The next day, being the ſeventh day of the week,* was employed in viſiting of friends, and preparing ourſelves for a farther journey: that is to ſay, G. K. R. B. B. F. and myſelf.

Finding letters here from the friends of Dantzick, complaining of their heavy ſufferings they underwent; informing us alſo that the king of Poland was there, and aſking advice about an addreſs to him; it fell upon me to write the following letter, in the name of the friends of Dantzick.

* 4. 6. 7.

To the KING of POLAND.

GREAT PRINCE!

ACTIONS of juſtice, mercy and truth, are worthy of all men; but in a moſt excellent manner of the ſerious conſideration of kings and princes. We, certain inhabitants of the city of Dantzick, have been long great ſufferers, not for any wickedneſs committed againſt the royal law of God, or any breach of thoſe civil laws of this city, that relate to the well-government of it in all natural and civil things; but purely and only for the cauſe of our tender conſciences towards God.

This ſeverity being by us repreſented to the magiſtrates of this city, we could not as yet receive from them any relief; ſome expreſſing, as if eaſing the burden of our oppreſſions, ſhould give thee, O king, an occaſion of diſſatisfaction againſt them, who art our acknowledged protector.

Being thus neceſſitated, and in a manner driven to make this addreſs unto thee, take it not amiſs that we, with that humility and patience that become the ſervants and followers of Jeſus, and with all manner of Chriſtian reſpect and ſincerity of mind, briefly relate to thee the moſt fundamental principles moſt ſurely believed by us: which, we hope, thou wilt believe deſerve not thoſe puniſhments that are inflicted upon us as evil-doers.

1. We do reverently believe, That there is One God and Father, One Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and One Holy Spirit, and theſe Three are One. Eph. iv. 6.

2. We believe the ſcriptures of the Old and New Teſtament to have been given forth by divine inſpiration; and they are profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for inſtruction in righteouſneſs; "able "to make the man of God wiſe unto ſalvation, "through faith which is in Chriſt Jeſus." 2 Tim. iii. 15, 16.

3. That

3. That theſe holy ſcriptures are not to be underſtood, but by the diſcoveries, teachings, and operations of that Eternal Spirit from whence they came.

4. We believe that all mankind, through diſobedience to the Spirit of God, are fallen ſhort of the glory of God, and in that ſtate are under condemnation: but that God, out of his infinite goodneſs and kindneſs, hath ſent his Son a light into the world, that whoſoever believeth and obeyeth this light, ſhould not abide in darkneſs, but have the light of eternal life.

5. We believe this gift of light and grace, through Jeſus Chriſt, to be univerſal; and that there is not a man or woman upon earth that hath not a ſufficient meaſure of this light, and to whom this grace hath not appeared, to reprove their ungodly works of darkneſs, and to lead them that obey it to eternal ſalvation. And this is the great condemnation of the world at this day, under all their great profeſſions of God, Chriſt, Spirit, and ſcriptures, that though Chriſt hath enlightened them, yet they will not bring their deeds to the light, but hate the light, and love their dark cuſtoms and practices rather than the light, becauſe their deeds are evil.

6. We do believe in the birth, life, doctrine, miracles, death, reſurrection and aſcenſion of Jeſus Chriſt our Lord; and that he laid down his life for the ungodly, not to continue ſo, but that they ſhould deny their wickedneſs and ungodlineſs, and live ſoberly, righteouſly, and godlikely in this preſent evil world; as the ſaints of old did, that were redeemed from the earth, and ſat in heavenly places.

7. We do believe, that as the devil, through man's diſobedience, brought ſin into man's heart, ſo Chriſt Jeſus, through man's belief in, and obedience to, his holy Spirit, light, and grace, cleanſeth the heart of ſin, deſtroyeth the works of the devil, finiſheth tranſgreſſion, and bringeth in everlaſting righteouſneſs; that as the devil hath had his kingdom of darkneſs in man, ſo Chriſt may have his kingdom of light, life, righteouſneſs, peace and joy in the Holy Ghoſt in the

heart of man: and not that Chriſt Jeſus ſaveth men from wrath, and not from ſin: "For the wages of "ſin is death," in whoſe heart ſoever it liveth; but the gift of God is eternal life, to all that believe and obey, through Jeſus Chriſt.

8. We do believe, that all true miniſtry and worſhip only ſtand in the experimental ſenſe, operations and leadings of this holy light, ſpirit, or grace, that is ſhed abroad in the hearts of men and women, to conduct them in the holy way of regeneration unto life eternal. This was the ancient, apoſtolical doctrine; they ſpoke what they had ſeen, taſted and handled of the word of God. And this is our faith, doctrine, and practice in this day.

And be not diſpleaſed with us, O king, we intreat thee, if we give this for the reaſon of our abſenting ourſelves from the publick and common miniſtry or worſhip; namely, that we have no taſte or reliſh, no ſenſe or evidence, that their miniſtry or worſhip are authorized and performed by the apoſtolical power and Spirit of Jeſus; but rather that they are the inventions, ſtudies and powers of man's nature: all which are but ſtrange fire, and therefore cannot kindle a true and acceptable ſacrifice to God.

For it is not man's ſpirit and degenerate nature ſpeaking and profeſſing the words of God's Spirit, that giveth acceptance with the Lord, or adminiſtreth heavenly edification to men. Nor can we believe, that where envy, paſſion, wrath, malice, perſecution, envy, and ſtriſe, luſts, vanity, wantonneſs, and worldly-mindedneſs have ſuch a ſway and power, that the true Chriſtian ſpirit, life, and doctrine can be heartily received and followed.

And as this is the reaſon, in the ſight and preſence of that God that made heaven and earth, and will judge the quick and the dead, wherefore we cannot join in the common and publick worſhip of theſe parts; ſo doth the ſame light and Spirit of God lay an holy neceſſity upon us, with a meek and quiet ſpirit, to come together after the manner of the ancient Chriſtians,

Chriſtians, that were the true followers of Jeſus; and with godly fear, and a retired mind, to wait upon God, and meditate in his holy law of life, that he hath writ in our hearts, according to his new-covenant promiſe: that he may feed us, teach us, ſtrengthen us, and comfort us in our inward man. And as by this holy Spirit, according to the practice of the churches of old, any are inclined or moved to reprove, exhort, admoniſh, praiſe, or pray, we are found exerciſed in theſe holy practices.

Now, O prince! Give us, poor Chriſtians, leave to expoſtulate with thee: Did Chriſt Jeſus, or his holy followers, endeavour by precept or example to ſet up their religion with a carnal ſword? Called he any troops of men or angels to defend him? Did he encourage Peter to diſpute his eſcape with the ſword? But did he not ſay, "Put it up?" Or did he countenance his over-zealous diſciples, when they would have had fire from heaven to deſtroy thoſe that were not of their mind? No: but did not Chriſt rebuke them, ſaying, "Ye know not what ſpirit ye are of?" And if it was neither Chriſt's Spirit, nor their own ſpirit that would have fire from heaven, Oh! what is that ſpirit that would kindle fire on earth, to deſtroy ſuch as peaceably diſſent upon the account of conſcience? If we may not wiſh that God would ſmite men of other judgments, becauſe they differ from us, (in which there is no uſe of carnal weapons) can we ſo far deceive ourſelves, as to eſteem ourſelves Chriſtians, and followers of Chriſt, whilſt we encourage men with worldly weapons to perſecute ſuch as diſſent from us?

O king! When did the true religion perſecute? When did the true church offer violence for religion? Were not her weapons prayers, tears, and patience? Did not Jeſus conquer by thoſe weapons, and vanquiſh cruelty by ſuffering? Can clubs and ſtaves, and ſwords and priſons, and baniſhments reach the ſoul, convert the heart, or convince the underſtanding of man? When did violence ever make a true convert,

or bodily puniſhment a ſincere Chriſtian? This maketh void the end of Chriſt's coming, which is to *ſave* mens lives, and not to *deſtroy* them; to *perſuade* them, and not to *force* them; yea, it robbeth God's Spirit of its office, which is to "*convince* the world:" that is the ſword by which the ancient Chriſtians overcame. It was the apoſtles teſtimony, that their weapons were not carnal, but ſpiritual: but the practice of their pretended ſucceſſors proveth, that their weapons are not ſpiritual, but carnal.

Suppoſe we are tares, as the true wheat hath always been called; yet pluck us not up, for Chriſt's ſake, who ſaith, "Let the tares and the wheat grow toge-"ther until the harveſt;" that is, "until the end of "the world." Let God have his due, as well as Cæſar; the judgment of conſcience belongeth to him; and miſtakes about religion are beſt known to him.

And here give us leave to mind thee of a noble ſaying of one of thy anceſtors, Stephen king of Poland; 'I am king of men, not of conſciences; king of bo-'dies, not of ſouls;' and there have been found, and ſtill are, among the emperors, kings, princes, and ſtates of the world, ſome that have had that noble ſpirit of indulging their conſcientious diſſenting ſubjects; and not only, with Gamaliel and Gallio, not to perſecute, but alſo eminently to protect and defend them from the hatred and violence of their enemies. Be not thou leſs noble than they: conſider how quietly and comfortably our friends live under other governments.

And indeed we conceive it to be the prudence of the kings and ſtates of the world; for, if the wiſe man ſaith true, "The glory of a prince is in the mul-"titude of his people:" but this practice ſaith, 'No; 'the glory of a prince is in the conformity of the 'people to the canons of the clergy;' which ſeemeth to ſtrike at all civil ſociety, which conſiſteth in men of virtue, parts, arts, and induſtry. But let men have never ſuch excellent abilities, be never ſo honeſt, peaceable, and induſtrious, all which render them

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good and profitable ſubjects to the prince, yet they muſt not live within their native country, unleſs they will ſacrifice the peace of their conſciences, by an hypocritical ſubmiſſion to the canons and faſhions of the church. Is not this, O prince! to ſet the church above the ſtate? The biſhop above the king? To waſte and give away the ſtrength and glory of a kingdom?

O that thou mayeſt be wiſe, even in thy generation, and uſe the power that God has given thee, for God, and truth, and righteouſneſs; that therein thou mayeſt be like unto God, who, Peter telleth us, "accepteth "of all that fear him, and work righteouſneſs, "throughout the world: whoſe ſun ſhineth upon all, "whoſe rain cometh upon all."

And leſt any ſhould be ſo injurious to us, as to render us enemies to civil government; be it known unto thee, O king! that we honour all men in the Lord, not with the vain invented honours of this world, but with the true and ſolid honour that cometh from above; but much more kings, and thoſe whom God hath placed in authority over us: for we believe magiſtracy to be both lawful and uſeful, for the terrifying of evil-doers, and the praiſe and encouragement of thoſe that do well.

The premiſes duly conſidered, we intreat thee, O prince! to take our ſuffering caſe into thy ſerious regard; and, by that power and influence thou haſt with the magiſtrates of this city, to recommend our ſuffering condition to their ſerious conſideration; that we may no longer lie under theſe not only unchriſtian, but unnatural ſeverities, but receive that ſpeedy and effectual relief which becometh Chriſtian magiſtrates to give to their own ſober and Chriſtian people.

The firſt day of the week being come,* the meeting began about the eleventh hour, and held till about the fourth hour in the afternoon. There was a mighty concourſe of people from ſeveral places of this coun-

* 5. 6. 1.

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try, and that of ſeveral perſuaſions, Baptiſts, Preſbyterians, Socinians, Seekers, &c. and God was with his people, and his word of life and power, of wiſdom and ſtrength, covered them; yea, the hidden things both of Eſau and Jacob, the myſtery both of iniquity and godlineſs, were opened and declared in the demonſtration of the eternal Spirit that day. And, Oh! bleſſed and magnified be the name of the Lord, that hath not only not left himſelf, but alſo not his ſervants, without a witneſs! Oh! he is worthy to be loved, and feared, and obeyed, and reverenced for ever.

The next day[p] G. K. R. B. B. F. and myſelf, having taken our leave of dear G. F. and friends, took boat for Naerden, where we arrived about the ſecond hour in the afternoon.

And after having eaten, we took our leave of thoſe friends that had accompanied us thither, and began our journey in the common poſt-waggon to Oſnabrug, where we came the fourth day following in the evening.[q]

We paſſed through a very dark country to that place; yet I felt not ſo great a weight and ſuffering in ſpirit as ſix years ago, when I went through the ſame places.

At Oſnabrug we had a little time with the man of the inn, where we lay; and left him ſeveral good books of friends, in the Low and High Dutch tongues, to read and diſpoſe of.

The next morning, being the fifth day of the week,[r] we ſet forward to Herwerden, and came thither at night. This is the city where the princeſs Elizabeth Palatine hath her court; whom, and the counteſs in company with her, it was eſpecially upon us to viſit, and that upon ſeveral accounts:

1. In that they are perſons ſeeking after the beſt things.

[p] 6. 6. 2. [q] 8. 6. 4. [r] 9. 6. 5.

2. That

2. That they are actually lovers and favourers of thoſe, that ſeparate themſelves from the world for the ſake of righteouſneſs.

For the princeſs is not only a private ſupporter of ſuch, but gave protection to De Labadie himſelf, and his company; yea, when they went under the reproachful name of Quakers about ſeven years ſince.

This man was a Frenchman, who being diſſatisfied with the looſeneſs and deadneſs of the French Proteſtants, even at Geneva itſelf, left them, and came for Holland; and ſo vehemently declaimed againſt the apoſtacy of the prieſts and people there, that the clergy were enraged, and ſtirred up the magiſtrates againſt him; and the rather, becauſe many followed him, and ſeveral women of great quality. Upon this the princeſs gave them an invitation, and they came, and were protected by her. But ſince, ſome miſcarriages falling out in that place, ſhe thereupon in good meaſure withdrew her favour from them, and they removed into another place.

I was moved to viſit this man and his company ſix years ago, and did ſee him, and his two great diſciples; but they would not ſuffer me to ſee the people, which I laboured for. I in that day ſaw the airineſs and unſtableneſs of the man's ſpirit; and that a *ſect-maſter* was his name: and it was upon me, both by word of mouth and writing, to let them know that the enemy would prevail againſt them to draw them into inconvenient things, if they came not to be ſtayed in the *light* of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and to know the *holy ſilence*; and that at laſt they would come to fall out one with another, and moulder away: which is in ſome meaſure come to paſs, as I feared; for I clearly perceived, that though they had received ſome divine touches, a danger there was they would run out with them, and ſpend them like prodigals; not knowing then where to ſtay their minds for daily bread. Yea, though they were ſomething angelical, and like to the cœleſtial bodies, yet if they kept not their ſtation, they would prove fallen ſtars. They moved

moved not in the motion of him that had viſited them, but were filled with groſs mixtures, and thereby brought forth mixed births; that is to ſay, things not natural, but monſtrous. In fine, they were ſhy of us, they knew us not: yet I believed well of ſome of the people, for a good thing was ſtirring in them.

And in this alſo was the counteſs commendable, in that ſhe left all, to have joined with a people that had a pretence, at leaſt, to more ſpirituality and ſelf-denial, than was found in the national religion ſhe was bred up in: for God had reached her, as ſhe told me, about nine years ago, and that by an extraordinary way.

Now it ſeemed great pity to us, that perſons of their quality in the world ſhould ſo willingly expoſe themſelves for the *falſe* Quaker, the reprobate *ſilver*, the *mixtures*, and that they ſhould not be acquainted with the life and teſtimony of the *true* Quakers.

About a year ſince, R. B. and B. F. took that city, in the way from Frederickſtadt to Amſterdam, and gave them a viſit; in which they informed them ſomewhat of friends principles, and recommended the teſtimony of truth to them, as both a nearer and more certain thing than the utmoſt of De Labadie's doctrine. They left them tender and loving.

Soon after this, Gertruydt Diricks and Elizabeth Hendricks from Amſterdam viſited them, and obtained a meeting with them; improving that little way, which God by his providence had made, more cloſely to preſs the teſtimony. And though they, eſpecially the counteſs, made ſome objections, in relation to the ordinances, and certain practices of friends, yet ſhe ſeemed to receive at that time ſatisfaction from them.

Theſe viſits have occaſioned a correſpondence by way of letter betwixt them and ſeveral of us, wherein the "myſtery of truth" hath been more clearly opened to their underſtandings; and they have been brought nearer into a waiting frame, by thoſe hea-

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venly directions they have frequently received by way of epiſtles from ſeveral of us.

In anſwer to two of mine, the princeſs ſent me the following letter; which being ſhort, I inſert it here.

Herford, May 2, 1677.

THIS, friend, will tell you, that both your letters were very acceptable, together with your wiſhes for my obtaining thoſe virtues which may make me a worthy follower of our great King and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. What I have done for his true diſciples, is not ſo much as a cup of cold water; it affords them no refreſhment; neither did I expect any fruit of my letter to the ducheſs of L. as I have expreſſed at the ſame time unto B. F. But ſince R. B. deſired I ſhould write it, I could not refuſe him, nor omit to do any thing that was judged conducing to his liberty, though it ſhould expoſe me to the deriſion of the world. But this a mere moral man can reach at; the true inward graces are yet wanting in

Your affectionate friend,
Elizabeth.

This digreſſion from the preſent hiſtory I thought not altogether unneceſſary, or unpleaſing.

But to return: Being arrived at that city, part of which is under her government, we gave her to underſtand it, deſiring to know what time next day would be moſt proper for us to viſit her. She ſent us word, 'She was glad that we were come, and ſhould be 'ready to receive us the next morning about the ſe-'venth hour.'

The next morning being come,' (which was the ſixth day of the week) we went about the time ſhe had appointed us, and found both her and the counteſs ready to receive us; which they did with a more than ordinary expreſſion of kindneſs. I can truly ſay it, and that in God's fear, I was very deeply and re-

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verently affected with the ſenſe that was upon my ſpirit of the great and notable day of the Lord, and the breakings-in of his eternal power upon all nations; and of the raiſing of the ſlain witneſſes to judge the world; who is the treaſure of life and peace, of wiſdom and glory, to all that receive him in the hour of his judgments, and abide with him. The ſenſe of this deep and ſure foundation which God is laying, as the hope of eternal life and glory for all to build upon, filled my ſoul with an holy teſtimony to them; which, in a living ſenſe, was followed by my brethren: and ſo the meeting ended about the eleventh hour.

The princeſs intreated us to ſtay and dine with her; but, with due regard both to our teſtimony and to her, at that time we refuſed it; deſiring, if ſhe pleaſed, another opportunity that day: which ſhe with all chearfulneſs yielded to; ſhe herſelf appointing the ſecond hour. So we went to our quarters, and ſome time after we had dined, we returned.

The meeting ſoon began; there were ſeveral preſent, beſides the princeſs and counteſs. It was at this meeting that the Lord in a more eminent manner began to appear. The eternal word ſhewed itſelf a hammer at this day; yea, ſharper than a two-edged ſword, dividing aſunder between the ſoul and the ſpirit, the joints and the marrow. Yea, this day was all fleſh humbled before the Lord; it amazed one, ſtruck another, broke another: yea, the noble arm of the Lord was truly awakened, and the weight and work thereof bowed and tendered us alſo after an unuſual and extraordinary manner; that the Lord might work an heavenly ſign before them and among them; that the Majeſty of him that is riſen among the poor Quakers might in ſome meaſure be known unto them; what God it is we ſerve, and what power it is we wait for and bow before. Yea, they had a ſenſe and a diſcovery that day, what would become of the glory of all fleſh, when God ſhall enter into judgment. Well! let my right hand forget its cunning, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, when I ſhall forget

forget the loving-kindneſs of the Lord, and the ſure mercies of our God to us his travelling ſervants that day. O Lord, ſend forth thy light and thy truth, that all nations may behold thy glory.

Thus continued the meeting till about the ſeventh hour: which done, with hearts and ſouls filled with holy thankſgivings to the Lord for his abundant mercy and goodneſs to us, we departed to our lodging; deſiring to know, whether our coming the next day might not be uneaſy or unreaſonable to her, with reſpect to the affairs of her government; it being the laſt day of the week, when, we were informed, ſhe was moſt frequently attended with addreſſes from her people. But with a loving and ready mind ſhe replied, 'That ſhe ſhould be glad to ſee us the next morning, and at any time when we would.'

The next morning[t] (being the ſeventh day) we were there betwixt eight and nine; where R. B. falling into ſome diſcourſe with the princeſs, the counteſs took hold of the opportunity, and whiſpered me to withdraw, to get a meeting for the more inferior ſervants of the houſe, who would have been baſhful to have preſented themſelves before the princeſs. And bleſſed be the Lord, he was not wanting to us: but the ſame bleſſed power that had appeared to viſit them of high, appeared alſo to viſit them of low degree: and we were all ſweetly tendered and broken together, for "Virtue went forth of JESUS that day," and the life of our God was ſhed abroad amongſt us as a ſweet ſavour; for which their ſouls bowed before the Lord, and confeſſed to our teſtimony. Which did not a little pleaſe that noble young woman, to find her own report of us, and her great care of them, ſo effectually anſwered. Oh! what ſhall we ſay? Is there any God like to our God, who is glorious in holineſs, fearful in praiſes, working wonders? To his eternal name, power and arm be the glory for ever!

[t] 11. 6. 7.

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The meeting done, the princeſs came to us, expreſſing much ſatisfaction that we had that good opportunity with her ſervants; telling us ſhe much deſired they ſhould have a true and right character of us, and that therefore ſhe choſe to withdraw, that they might have freer acceſs, and that it might look like their own act; or words to that purpoſe.

The twelfth hour being come, we returned to our inn, letting them underſtand, we purpoſed (the Lord willing) to viſit them ſome time of that afternoon.

I muſt not here forget, that we found at our inn, the firſt night at ſupper, a young merchant, of a ſweet and ingenuous temper, belonging to the city of Bremen, who took occaſion from that night's diſcourſe, the ſixth day at dinner and ſupper, and the ſeventh day alſo, to ſeek all opportunities of conference with us; and, as we have reaſon to believe, he ſtayed twenty-four hours in that city on our account. We opened to him the teſtimony of truth: I know not that in any one thing he contradicted us. At laſt, he plainly diſcovered himſelf unto us to be a follower of a certain miniſter in Bremen, that is, even by his fellow-miniſters and Proteſtants, reproached with the name of *Quaker*, becauſe of his ſingular ſharpneſs againſt the formal lifeleſs miniſters and Chriſtians in the world.

We laid faſt hold upon this, and aſked him, in caſe any of us ſhould viſit that city, if he would give us the opportunity of a meeting at his houſe? Which he readily granted us. So we gave him ſome books, recommending him to the true and bleſſed teſtimony of Chriſt Jeſus, the Light and Judge of the world, and life of them that receive him, and believe in him; and ſo we parted.

It being now about three in the afternoon, we went to the princeſs's; where being come, after ſome little time, the princeſs and counteſs put me in remembrance of a promiſe I made them in one of my letters out of England, namely, that I would give them an account (at ſome convenient time) of my firſt convincement

vincement, and of thoſe tribulations and conſolations which I had met withal in this way of the kingdom, which God had brought me to.

After ſome pauſe, I found myſelf very free, and prepared in the Lord's love and fear to comply with their requeſt; and ſo, after ſome ſilence, began. But before I had half done, it was ſupper-time, and the princeſs would by no means let us go, we muſt ſup with her: which importunity not being well able to avoid, we yielded to, and ſat down with her to ſupper.

Among the reſt preſent at theſe opportunities, it muſt not be forgotten that there was a counteſs, ſiſter to the counteſs, then come in to viſit her, and a Frenchwoman of quality; the firſt behaving herſelf very decently, and the laſt often deeply broken; and from a light and ſlighting carriage towards the very name of a *Quaker*, ſhe became very intimately and affectionately kind and reſpectful to us. Supper being ended, we all returned to the princeſs's chamber; where making us all to ſit down with her, ſhe, with both the counteſſes and the Frenchwoman, preſſed from me the continuance of my relation; but none more than the counteſs's ſiſter. Which, though late, I was not unwilling to oblige them with, becauſe I knew not when the Lord would give me ſuch an opportunity.

And I found them affected: it continued till about ten at night; yet many particulars omitted, partly through forgetfulneſs, and partly for want of time. Howbeit, I muſt needs ſay, they heard me with an earneſt and tender attention; and I hope and believe, the Lord hath made it profitable unto them.

This done, ſome diſcourſe they had upon it, and afterwards we ſpoke about a meeting for the next day, being the firſt day of the week; and that we might have not only as many of her own family, but as many of her town as would willingly be there: ſhe yielded to it, and appointed the meeting to begin at the ſecond hour. So we parted, being near the eleventh hour at night.

The next morning[n] we had a meeting among ourſelves in our chamber, wherein the Lord refreſhed us: and there was a great travail upon our ſpirits, that the Lord would ſtand by us that day, and magnify the teſtimony of his own truth by us; that he might have a ſeed and people in that place, to lift up a ſtandard for his name.

At dinner there were ſeveral ſtrangers, that came by the poſt-waggon that day: among whom there was a young man of Bremen, being a ſtudent at the college at Duyſburgh, who informed us of a ſober and ſeeking man of great note in the city of Duyſburgh; to him we gave ſome books. There was one more who was tender and inquiring, to whom alſo we gave ſome books.

The ſecond hour being at hand, we went to the meeting; where were ſeveral as well of the town as of the family. The meeting began with a weighty exerciſe and travail in prayer, that the Lord would glorify his own name that day. And by his own power he made way to their conſciences, and ſounded his wakening trumpet in their ears, that they might know that he was God, and that there is none like unto him. Oh! the day of the Lord livingly dawned upon us, and the ſearching life of Jeſus was in the midſt of us! Oh! the word, that never faileth them that wait for it, and abide in it, opened the way, and unſealed the book of life: yea, the quickening power and life of Jeſus wrought and reached to them: and virtue from him, in whom dwelleth the Godhead bodily, went forth, and bleſſedly diſtilled upon us his own heavenly life, ſweeter than the pure frankincenſe; yea, than the ſweet-ſmelling myrrh that cometh from a far country. And as it began, ſo it was carried on, and ſo it ended: bleſſed be the name of the Lord, and confided in be our God for ever!

As ſoon as the meeting was done, the princeſs came to me, and took me by the hand (which ſhe

[n] 12. 6. 1.

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uſually did to us all, coming and going) and went to ſpeak to me of the ſenſe ſhe had of that power and preſence of God that was amongſt us, but was ſtopped. And turning herſelf to the window, brake forth in an extraordinary paſſion, crying out, 'I cannot 'ſpeak to you; my heart is full;' clapping her hands upon her breaſt.

It melted me into a deep and calm tenderneſs, in which I was moved to miniſter a few words ſoftly to her, and after ſome time of ſilence ſhe recovered herſelf; and as I was taking my leave of her, ſhe interrupted me thus: 'Will ye not come hither again? 'Pray, call here as ye return out of Germany.' I told her, we were in the hand of the Lord; and being his, could not diſpoſe of ourſelves. But the Lord had taken care that we ſhould not forget her, and thoſe with her: for he had raiſed and begotten an heavenly concernment in our ſouls for her and them; and we loved them all with that love wherewith God had loved us; with much more to that purpoſe.

She then turned to the reſt of the friends, and would have had us all gone to ſupper with her. But we choſe rather to be excuſed; we ſhould eat a bit of her bread, and drink a glaſs of her wine if ſhe pleaſed, in the chamber where we were. At laſt we prevailed with her to leave us.

The counteſs, the Frenchwoman, and the counteſs's waiting-woman, ſtayed with us, and we had a very retired and ſeaſonable opportunity with them.

After the princeſs had ſupped, we went all down, and took our ſolemn leave of her, the counteſs, her ſiſter, the Frenchwoman, with the reſt of the family, whoſe hearts were reached and opened by our teſtimonies; recommending unto them holy ſilence from all will-worſhip, and the workings, ſtrivings, and images of their own mind and ſpirit: that Jeſus might be felt of them in their hearts, his holy teachings witneſſed, and followed in the way of his bleſſed croſs, that would crucify them unto the world, and the world unto them: that their faith, hope, and joy might

ſtand in Chriſt in them, the heavenly Prophet, Shepherd, and Biſhop; whoſe voice all that are truly ſheep will hear and follow, and not the voice of any ſtranger whatever.

So we left them in the love and peace of God, praying that they might be kept from the evil of this world. We returned to our lodging, having our hearts filled with a weighty ſenſe of the Lord's appearance with us in that place; and being late (towards the ninth hour) we prepared to go to reſt.

The next morning[w] (being the ſecond day of the week) G. K. B. F. and myſelf, got ready to begin our journey towards Franckfort; which, by the way of Caſſel, is about two hundred Engliſh miles. R. B. prepared himſelf to return by the way we came, directly to Amſterdam. But before we parted, we had a little time together in the morning in our chamber, whither came one of the princeſs's family, and one of the town. The Lord moved me to call upon his great name, that he would be with them that ſtayed, and with them that returned alſo, and with us that went forward in wild and untrodden places. And his bleſſed love and life overſhadowed us: yea, he filled our cup together, and made us drink into one ſpirit, even the cup of bleſſings, in the fellowſhip of the everlaſting ſeed; in which we took leave of one another.

And after having eaten, it being about the ſeventh hour, we departed the city.

We came to Paderborn that night, ſix German miles, which are about thirty-ſix Engliſh: it is a dark Popiſh town, and under the government of a biſhop of that religion. Howbeit, the woman where we lodged was an ancient, grave, and ſerious perſon, to whom we declared the teſtimony of the *light*, ſhewing her the difference betwixt an outſide and an inſide religion, which ſhe received with much kindneſs. We left ſome books with her, which ſhe took readily.

[w] 13. 6. 2.

There

There was alſo with us at ſupper a Lutheran, that was a lawyer, with whom I had very good ſervice, in opening to him the great loſs of the power of godlineſs, as well among them who ſeparated from Rome, as in the Roman church; which he confeſſed. I directed him to the principle of light in his conſcience, that let him ſee the lifeleſs ſtate of the falſe Chriſtians; and if he turned his mind to that principle, and waited there for power, he would receive power to rule and govern himſelf according to true godlineſs; and that it was the loſs of Chriſtendom that they went from this principle, in which the power ſtandeth, that conformeth the ſoul to the image and likeneſs of the dear Son of God; and thither they muſt come again, if ever they will have the true knowledge of God, and enjoy life and ſalvation; with much more to that purpoſe; all which he received lovingly.

The next morning[x] we ſet forwards toward Caſſel; but through great foulneſs of weather, having only naked carts to ride in, the waters being alſo high with the rains, we got not to Caſſel till the next day,[y] which was the fourth day of the week. It being late, we made little enquiry that night, being alſo wearied with the foulneſs of the ways and weather.

But the next day[z] we made our uſual enquiry, viz. Who was worthy in the city? And found ſome that tenderly and lovingly received us, to whom we declared the viſitation of the light and love of God. Among the reſt, was Dureus, our countryman, a man of ſeventy-ſeven years of age, who had learned in good meaſure to forget his learning, ſchool-divinity, and prieſt's craft; and for his approaches towards an inward principle, is reproachfully ſaluted by ſome with the honeſt title of *Quaker*. It is much better than Papiſt, Lutheran, or Calviniſt, who are not only ignorant of, but enemies to, quaking and trembling at the word of the Lord, as Moſes and others did.

[x] 14. 6. 3. [y] 15. 6. 4. [z] 16. 6. 5.

Upon the ſixth day of the ſame week about noon,[a] we ſet out towards Franckfort, having left ſeveral books behind us; which hath been our practice in our journey.

At Franckfort we arrived the ſecond day about noon,[b] being juſt a week from Herwerden; and having from thence and Caſſel made known our intentions of coming to that city, two conſiderable perſons came and met us about half a German mile from the city, informing us of ſeveral well-affected in that town. Upon which we told them the end of our coming, and deſired to have a meeting with them in the afternoon; which we eaſily obtained at the houſe of a merchant, one of the two that met us. The perſons that reſorted thither, were generally people of conſiderable note, both of Calviniſts and Lutherans; and we can ſay, they received us with gladneſs of heart, and embraced our teſtimony with a broken and reverent ſpirit, thanking God for our coming amongſt them, and praying that he would proſper his work in our hands

This engaged our hearts to make ſome longer ſtay in this city: we therefore deſired another meeting the next day,[c] which they chearfully aſſented to, where ſeveral came that were not with us the day before, and the Lord that ſent us into the land was with us, and by his power reached to them, inſomuch that they confeſſed to the truth of our teſtimony.

Of theſe perſons there were two women, one a virgin, the other a widow, both noble of birth, who had a deep ſenſe of that power and preſence of God that accompanied our teſtimony, and their hearts yearned ſtrongly towards us; the virgin giving us a particular invitation to her houſe the next morning,[d] where we had the moſt bleſſed opportunity of the three, for the Lord's power ſo eminently appeared, that not only thoſe that had been with us before were moſt effectually reached, but a certain ſtudent reſiding in the

[a] 17. 6. 6. [b] 20. 6. 2. [c] 21. 6. 3. [d] 22. 6. 4.

houſe

houſe of a Lutheran miniſter, ſent for by that young woman, was broken to pieces, and magnified that bleſſed power which appeared. Alſo there accidentally came in a doctor of phyſick, who unexpectedly was affected, and confeſſed to the truth, praying God to proſper us. This was the bleſſed iſſue of our viſit to Franckfort.

But there is one thing more, not unfit to be mentioned: among ſome of thoſe that have inclinations after God, a fearful ſpirit, together with the ſhame of the croſs, hath entered; againſt which our teſtimony in part ſtriking, we took notice it was a life to theſe noble women, for that was it, as they told us, which had long oppreſſed them, and obſtructed the work of the Lord amongſt them. 'Therefore,' ſaid the young virgin, 'our quarters are free for you, let all come 'that will come, and lift up your voices without fear; 'for,' ſaid ſhe, 'it will never be well with us till 'perſecution come, and ſome of us be lodged in the 'ſtadthouſe;' that is, the priſon.

We left the peace of Jeſus with them, and the ſame afternoon we departed out of that city, being the fourth day of the week.

Here I writ an epiſtle to the churches of Jeſus.

To the churches of Jeſus throughout the world, gathered and ſettled in his eternal light, power, and ſpirit, to be one holy flock, family, and houſhold to the Lord, &c.

Dear friends and brethren,

WHO have been viſited with the fatherly viſitation from on high, and have received God's eternal word and teſtament in your hearts, by which you have been gathered home to Chriſt Jeſus, the true Shepherd, from all the idol ſhepherds, and their barren mountains, and unprofitable hills, where you have been ſcattered in the dark and gloomy day of apoſ-

tacy; and by his light, ſpirit, and power, have been convinced of ſin, righteouſneſs, and judgment, and can ſay, 'The prince of this world is judged, by his 'holy, righteous, and powerful appearance in you, 'unto whom all judgment in heaven and earth is 'committed; who is the bleſſed Lamb of God, the 'Light and Saviour of the world; who is King of 'Salem, and Prince of peace:' my ſoul loves you with everlaſting love; even with the love with which my God, and your God, my Father, and your Father, hath loved me, and viſited my ſoul, and your ſouls; in this do I dearly ſalute and embrace you all, in this the day of the fulfilling of his glorious promiſes to his church in the wilderneſs, and witneſſes in ſackcloth.

And, O magnified be his name, and everlaſtingly praiſed and renowned be his holy power and arm, by which he hath reached unto us, and brought ſalvation near us! For he hath found us out, and hath heard our ſolitary cries, the deep and mournful ſupplications of our bowed ſpirits, when we were as the little ſilly dove without its mate, and the lonely pelican in the wilderneſs; when we were ready to cry out, 'Is there 'none to ſave? Is there none to help? O when ſhall 'the time and times, and half a time be finiſhed? 'When ſhall the one thouſand two hundred and ſixty 'days be accompliſhed? And when ſhall the abomi-'nation, that ſtands in the holy place, be caſt out? 'When ſhall the captivity of the people be turned 'back? O when ſhall Babylon come into remem-'brance before God; the dragon, beaſt, and falſe 'prophet be caſt into the lake? And when ſhall the 'law go forth out of Sion, and the word of the Lord 'out of Jeruſalem? When ſhall Sion become the joy, 'and Jeruſalem the praiſe of the whole earth? And 'when ſhall the earth be covered with the knowledge 'of the Lord, as the waters cover the ſea?'

Friends, The Lord of heaven and earth hath heard our cries; and the full time is come, yea, the appointed time is come, and the voice of the eternal Spirit in our hearts hath been heard on this wiſe many a time;

a time: "Awake, thou that ſleepeſt, and I will give "thee life: ariſe out of the duſt, and ſhine; for thy "light is come, and the glory of the Lord is riſen "upon thee." And the Lord God hath given us that light by which we have comprehended the darkneſs in ourſelves and in the world: and as we have believed in it, dwelt in it, and walked in it, we have received power to overcome the evil one in all his appearances in ourſelves, and faithfully and boldly to teſtify againſt him in the world: and the blood of Jeſus, in this holy way of the light, have we felt in our ſouls to cleanſe us from unrighteouſneſs, and give us to know the myſtery of the fellowſhip of the goſpel one with another, which ſtands in life and immortality. And here we become an holy houſhold and family unto God, that live in his preſence day and night, to do his will, as becometh his redeemed and ranſomed children by the moſt precious blood of his Son, and no more to return to folly.

And, friends, let it never paſs out of our remembrance, what our God hath done for us, ſince he hath made us a people: hath any weapon formed againſt us proſpered? Hath he called us, and not protected us? Hath he given power to conceive, and not to bring forth? Hath he not ſheltered us in many a ſtorm? Did he ever leave us under the reproaches and contradictions of men? Nay, hath he not ſpoken peace to us? Were we ever caſt out by men, and he forſook us? No, the Lord hath taken us up: were we ever in priſon, and he viſited us not? Hungry, and he fed us not? Naked, and he clothed us not? Or have we been ſick, and he came not to ſee us? When were the jails ſo cloſe, that he could not come in, and the dungeons ſo dark, that he cauſed not his light to ſhine upon us? O nay; he hath never left us, nor forſaken us; yea, he hath provided richly for us; he hath brought us into the wilderneſs, not to ſtarve us, but to try us; yet not above our meaſure: for he fed us with manna from on high, with pure honey and water out of the rock, and gave his good Spirit to ſuſtain us:

us: by night he was a pillar of fire to us, to comfort us; and by day a pillar of cloud, to hide and ſhelter us. He was a ſhadow of a mighty rock that followed us; and we never wanted a brook by the way to refreſh us. Was God good to Iſrael outward? Much more hath he abounded to his ſpiritual Iſrael, the proper ſeed and offspring of himſelf. O the noble deeds and valiant acts, that he hath wrought in our day for our deliverance! He hath cauſed one to chace ten, and ten an hundred, and an hundred a thouſand, many a time. None hath been able to ſnatch us out of his hands, who abode in his truth. For though the winds have blown, and the ſea hath raged, yet hath he rebuked the winds and the ſea for his ſeed's ſake: he hath ſaid to the winds, "Be ſtill;" and to the ſea, "Thus far ſhalt thou come, and no farther." He hath caſt up an highway for his ranſomed to walk in, ſo plain, that though a fool he ſhall not err therein. This is the light, in which all nations of them that are ſaved muſt walk for ever.

And therefore, friends, let us ſtay our minds in the light of the Lord for ever; and let the awe, fear, and dread of the Almighty dwell in us; and let his holy Spirit be known to be a covering to us, that from the ſpirit of this world we may be chaſtely kept and preſerved unto God, in the holy light, and ſelf-denying life of Jeſus, who hath offered himſelf up once for all, leaving us an example that we ſhould alſo follow his ſteps; that as he, our dear Lord and Maſter, ſo we, his ſervants and friends, and children, might, by the eternal Spirit, offer up ourſelves to God, in body, in ſoul, and in ſpirit, which are his; that we may be his workmanſhip, created in Chriſt Jeſus unto good works, to the praiſe of him that hath called us; which calling is an high and an holy calling, by the eternal light and ſpirit in our conſciences. O that it might for ever remain in high eſtimation with us! And that it may be the daily watch and travail of us all, in the preſence of the holy and living God, that hath called us, to make our great call and election ſure; which

many

many having neglected to do, (who have been convinced by the bleſſed light and truth of Chriſt Jeſus revealed in their hearts, and who for a time have walked among us) have been overcome by the ſpirit of this world, and turned their hands from the plough, and deſerted the camp of the Lord, and gone back into Egypt again; whereby the heathen have blaſphemed, and the way and people of the Lord greatly have ſuffered.

Therefore, O my dear friends and brethren, in the ſenſe of that life and power, that God from heaven ſo glorioufly hath diſpenſed among us, and by which he hath given us multiplied aſſurances of his loving-kindneſs unto us, and crowned us together with heavenly dominion, and in which my ſpirit is at this time broken before the Lord; do I moſt earneſtly intreat you to watch continually, leſt any of you, that have taſted of the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, fall by temptation; and by careleſſneſs and neglect tempt the living God to withdraw his fatherly viſitation from any of you, and finally to deſert ſuch: for the Lord our God is a jealous God, and he will not give his glory unto another. He hath given to man *all* but man himſelf, and *him* he hath reſerved for his own peculiar ſervice, to build him up a glorious temple to himſelf; ſo that we are bought with a price, and we are not our own.

Therefore let us continually watch, and ſtand in awe, that we grieve not his holy Spirit, nor turn his grace into wantonneſs; but, all of us, let us wait, and that in an holy travail of ſpirit, to know ourſelves ſealed by the "Spirit of adoption," unto the day of our complete redemption; when not only all our ſins, but all ſorrows, ſighings, and tears, ſhall be wiped away from our eyes; and everlaſting ſongs of joy and thankſgiving ſhall melodiouſly fill our hearts to God, that ſits upon the throne, and to his bleſſed immaculate Lamb, who by his moſt precious blood ſhall have completely redeemed us from the earth, and written our names in the book of life.

Friends,

Friends, The Spirit of the Lord hath often brought you into my remembrance, ſince I have been in this deſolate land; and with joy unutterable have I had ſweet and precious fellowſhip with you in the faith of Jeſus, that overcometh the world: for, though abſent in body, yet preſent in him that is Omnipreſent. And I can truly ſay, you are very near and very dear to me; and the love that God hath raiſed in my heart unto you, ſurpaſſes the love of women; and our teſtimony, I am well ſatisfied, is ſealed up together. And I am well aſſured, that all that love the light ſhall endure to the end throughout all tribulations, and in the end obtain eternal ſalvation.

And now, friends, as I have been travelling in this dark and ſolitary land, the great work of the Lord in the earth has been often preſented unto my view, and the day of the Lord hath been deeply upon me, and my ſoul and ſpirit hath frequently been poſſeſſed with an holy and weighty concern for the glory of the name of the Lord, and the ſpreading of his everlaſting truth, and the proſperity of it through all nations; that the very ends of the earth may look to him, and may know Chriſt, the *light*, to be given to them for their ſalvation. And when the ſenſe of theſe things hath been deeply upon me, an holy and ſtrong cry God hath raiſed in my ſoul to him, 'That we, who 'have known this fatherly viſitation from on high, 'and who have beheld the day of the Lord, the riſing 'of the Sun of Righteouſneſs, who is full of grace, 'and full of truth, and have beheld his glory, and 'confeſſed it to be the glory of the only-begotten 'Son of God; and who, by obedience to his appear-'ance, are become the children of light, and of the 'day, and as the firſt-fruits to God, after this long 'night of apoſtacy, might for ever walk and dwell in 'his holy covenant, Chriſt Jeſus, the light of the 'world; becauſe in him we have always peace, but 'out of him comes all the trouble.'

And whilſt this heavenly ſenſe reſted with me, the Lord God, that made me, and called me by his grace unto

unto ſalvation, laid it upon me to viſit you in an holy exhortation. And it is the exhortation of my life at this time, in the earneſt and fervent motion of the power and ſpirit of Jeſus, to beſeech you all, who are turned to the light of Chriſt, that ſhineth in your hearts, and believe in it; that you carefully and faithfully walk in it, in the ſame dread, awe, and fear, in which you began; that the holy poverty of ſpirit, that is precious in the eyes of the Lord, and was in the days of your firſt love, may dwell and reſt with you; that you may daily feel the ſame heavenly hunger and thirſt, the ſame lowlineſs and humility of mind, the ſame zeal and tenderneſs, and the ſame ſincerity and love unfeigned; that God may fill you out of his heavenly treaſure with the riches of life, and crown you with holy victory and dominion over the god and ſpirit of this world: that your Alpha may be your Omega, and your author your finiſher, and your *firſt* love your *laſt* love; that ſo none may make ſhipwreck of faith, and of a good conſcience, nor faint by the way. And as in this ſtate we are kept in holy watchfulneſs to God, as in the beginning, the table which our heavenly Father ſpreads, and the bleſſing with which he compaſſeth us about, ſhall not become a ſnare unto us, nor ſhall we turn the grace and mercies of the Lord into wantonneſs; but we ſhall eat and drink in an holy fear, apparel ourſelves in fear, buy and ſell in fear, viſit one another in fear; keep meetings, and there wait upon the Lord in fear: yea, whatſoever we take in hand to do, it ſhall be in the holy fear of God, and with an holy tenderneſs of his glory, and regard to the proſperity of his truth: yea, we ſhall deny ourſelves not only in the unlawful things, but in the things that are even lawful to us, for the ſake of the many millions that are unconverted to God.

For, my friends and brethren, God hath laid upon us, whom he hath honoured with the beginning of his great work in the world, the care both of this age, and of the ages to come; that they may walk, as they have us for examples: yea, the Lord God hath choſen

choſen you to place his name in you; the Lord hath intruſted you with his glory, that you might hold it forth to all nations; and that the generations unborn may call you bleſſed.

Therefore, let none be treacherous to the Lord, nor reward him evil for good; nor betray his cauſe directly by wilful wickedneſs, nor indirectly by negligence and unfaithfulneſs: but be zealous and valiant for truth on earth; let none be ſlothful or careleſs: O remember the ſlothful ſervant's ſtate. And let the loving-kindneſs of the Lord overcome every ſoul to faithfulneſs; for with him are riches and honour, and every good thing: and whither ſhould any go? He hath the words of eternal life. O let none loſe their teſtimony, but hold it up for God. Let thy gift be never ſo ſmall, thy teſtimony never ſo little, through thy whole converſation bear it for God; and be true to what thou art convinced of: and wait all upon the Lord, that you may grow in your heavenly teſtimony; that life may fill your hearts, your houſes, and your meetings; that you may daily wait to know, and to receive power to do, the will of God on earth, as it is in heaven.

And, O! that the croſs of Jeſus may be in high and honourable eſteem with every one; that the liberty of all may ſtand in the croſs, which alone preſerveth: for it is the power of God, that crucifieth us to the world, and the world to us. And through death, way is made unto life and immortality; which by this bleſſed croſs, the goſpel, the power, is brought to light. So ſhall the life that God hath ſown in our hearts, grow; and in that ſeed ſhall we all come to be bleſſed, unto whom God hath appointed the dominion over us. And it is good for all to live under the holy government of it; for the ways of it are the ways of pleaſantneſs, and all its paths are peace; and all that are born of it, can ſay, "Thy ſceptre is a "ſceptre of righteouſneſs." And, Oh! that all friends, every where, may continually bow unto his righteous ſceptre, and keep to his holy law, which is written

written in their hearts; that it may be a light to their feet, and a lanthorn to their paths. So ſhall they come to witneſs that holy promiſe made good unto them, "The Spirit, which I have given unto him, "the ſeed; and the words which I have put into his "mouth, ſhall not depart from him, nor from his "ſeed, nor from his ſeed's ſeed unto all genera-"tions."[e]

Wherefore, friends, redeem the time, becauſe the days are evil; God hath given you to ſee they are ſo: and be ye ſeparated more and more, yea, perfectly diſentangled from the cares of this world. And be ye not cumbered with the many things; but ſtand looſe from the things that are ſeen, which are temporal.

And you that are poor, murmur not; but be patient, and truſt in the Lord, and ſubmit to his providence, and he will provide for you that which is convenient for you, the days of your appointed time. And you that are rich, keep in the moderation, and ſtrive not to multiply earthly treaſure, nor to heap up uncertain riches to yourſelves; but what God hath given you more than what is convenient for your own uſe, wait for his wiſdom, to employ it for his glory; that you may be faithful ſtewards of this world's mammon; and the Lord God ſhall reward you in your boſoms, of the riches of that kingdom that ſhall never have an end.

O my friends and brethren, whether rich or poor, in bonds or at liberty, in whatſoever ſtate you are, the ſalutation of the univerſal life of Jeſus is to you: and the exhortation is, to bow to what is made known unto you; and in the light, by which ye have received in meaſure the knowledge of God, watch and wait diligently to the farther revelation of the mind and will of God unto you, that ye may be endued from on high with power and might in your inward man, to anſwer the call and requirings of the Lord; that

[e] Iſa. lix. 21.

ye

ye may be enabled to make known to the nations, what is the riches of the glory of this bleſſed myſtery in the Gentiles; which is Chriſt Jeſus, the light of the world, in you the hope of glory. For this I have to tell you, in the viſion of the Almighty, that the day of the breaking-up of the nations about you, and of the ſounding of the goſpel trumpet unto the inhabitants of the earth, is juſt at the door: and they that are worthy, who have kept their habitation from the beginning, and have dwelt in the unity of the faith that overcometh the world, and have kept the bond of peace, the Lord God will impower and ſpirit them to go forth with his everlaſting word and teſtament to awaken, and gather kindreds, languages, and people to the glory of the riſing of the Gentiles light, who is God's ſalvation unto the ends of the earth.

And I muſt tell you, that there is a breathing, hungering, ſeeking people, ſolitarily ſcattered up and down this great land of Germany, where the Lord hath ſent me; and I believe it is the like in other nations. And as the Lord hath laid it upon me, with my companions, to ſeek ſome of them out, ſo have we found ſeveral in divers places. And we have had many bleſſed opportunities amongſt them, wherein our hearts have greatly rejoiced; having been made deeply ſenſible of the love of God towards them, and of the great openneſs and tenderneſs of ſpirit in them, to receive the teſtimony of light and life through us. And we have a ſtedfaſt belief, that the Lord will carry on his work in this land effectually; and that he will raiſe up thoſe, that ſhall be as miniſters of his eternal teſtament amongſt them. And O! our deſire is, that God would put it into the hearts of many of his faithful witneſſes to viſit the inhabitants of this country, where God hath a great ſeed of people to be gathered; that his work may go on in the earth, till the whole earth be filled with his glory.

And it is under the deep and weighty ſenſe of this approaching work, that the Lord God hath laid it upon

on me to write to you, to wait for the farther pouring out of the power and ſpirit of the Lord; that nothing that is careleſs, ſleepy, earthly, or exalted, may get up, whereby to diſpleaſe the Lord, and cauſe him to withdraw his ſweet and preſerving preſence from any that know him. But let all keep the King of righteouſneſs his peace, and walk in the ſteps of the flocks of the companions: for withering and deſtruction ſhall come upon all ſuch as deſert the camp of the Lord, or with their murmuring ſpirit diſquiet the heritage of God; for they are greater enemies to Sion's glory, and Jeruſalem's peace, than the open armies of the aliens.

And it is a warning to all, that make mention of the name of the Lord in this diſpenſation he hath brought us to, that they have a care how they let out their minds in any wiſe to pleaſe the luſts of the eye, the luſts of the fleſh, and the pride of life; which are not of the Father, but of this world; leſt any be exalted in a liberty, that maketh the croſs of Jeſus of none effect, and the offence thereof to ceaſe: for ſuch will become as ſalt that hath loſt its ſavour, and at laſt will be trod under the feet of God and men. For the Lord will withdraw his daily preſence, and the fountain will come to be ſealed up, and the well of ſalvation be ſtopped again.

Therefore, as all would rejoice in the joy of God's ſalvation, let them wait for the ſaving power, and dwell in it; that knowing the myſtery of the work of regeneration, Chriſt formed in them, the hope of their glory, they may be able, in the motion of him that hath begotten them through death to life, to go forth and declare the way of life and ſalvation.

And all you that are young-convinced of the eternal truth, come into it, and then you will feel the virtue of it, and ſo you will be witneſſes; otherwiſe "vain talkers, wells without water, clouds without "rain; for which ſtate is reſerved the blackneſs of "darkneſs for ever."

Wherefore gird up the loins of your minds, and be ſober, and tempt not God; but receive the day of your viſitation, and walk worthy of ſo great a love, and delight to retain God in your knowledge; and grieve not his holy Spirit, but join to it, and be led by it, that it may be an earneſt to you of an eternal inheritance.

And take up your daily croſs, and follow Chriſt, and not the ſpirit of this world. He was meek and lowly, he was humble and plain; he was few in words, but mighty in deeds; he loved not his life unto death, even the reproachful death of the croſs; but laid down his life, and became of no reputation, and that for the rebellious. "O the height, and the depth, "the length, and the breadth, yea, the unſearchable-"neſs of the love of God in Chriſt Jeſus!"

Wherefore, while it is to-day, hearken to his voice, and harden not your hearts: and make no bargains for yourſelves, neither conſult with fleſh and blood; but let the Lord be your light, and your ſalvation: let him be the ſtrength of your life, and the length of your days. And this know aſſuredly, that none ever truſted to the Lord, and were confounded.

Wherefore hold up your teſtimony for God, as you would enjoy the increaſings of his life and love: and let your light ſhine, and confeſs him before the whole world. Smother not his appearance, neither hide thy candle, God hath lighted in thee, under a buſhel; for Chriſt walketh among his candleſticks of pure and tried gold. Wherefore ſet thy light upon a candleſtick, and ſhew forth thy good converſation in meekneſs and godly fear, that thou mayeſt become a good example; and others, beholding thy good works, may glorify God. But for the rebellious, the fearful, and the unbelieving, the day haſtens upon ſuch, that the things that belong to their eternal peace ſhall be hid from their eyes for ever.

And all you, my dear friends and brethren, who are in ſufferings for the teſtimony of Jeſus, and a good conſcience; look up to Jeſus, the Author and Finiſher of

of your faith; who, for the joy that was ſet before him, endured the croſs, and deſpiſed the ſhame, and is ſet down at the right hand of the Father in the heavenly place; into which, if you faint not, you ſhall all be received, after the days of your pilgrimage ſhall be at an end, with a "Well done, good and faithful "ſervant."

And though theſe afflictions ſeem not joyous, but grievous for the preſent, yet a far more exceeding weight of glory ſtands at the door. Wherefore count it all joy when you fall into theſe trials, and perſevere to the end, knowing that he that ſhall come, will come, and will not tarry, and that his reward is with him. Remember the martyrs of Jeſus, that loved not their lives to the death for his name's-ſake that called them. And Jeſus himſelf, that made a good confeſſion before Pontius Pilate, who hath conſecrated through his blood a new and living way for all that come unto God by him, who is made an high prieſt, higher than the heavens, one that can be touched and moved, and is daily touched and moved with our weakneſs and infirmity, that through him we may be made ſtrong in the Lord, and more than conquerors through him that hath loved us.

Wherefore let it not ſeem as if ſome ſtrange thing had happened to you; for all theſe things are for the trial of your faith, which is more precious than the gold that periſheth. It is the old quarrel, children of this world againſt the children of the Lord; thoſe that are born after the fleſh, warring againſt thoſe that are born after the Spirit: Cain againſt Abel, the old world againſt Noah; Sodomites againſt Lot; Hagar againſt Sarah; Iſhmael againſt Iſaac; Eſau againſt Jacob; Egyptians againſt Iſraelites; the falſe prophets againſt the true prophets, as Iſaiah, Jeremiah, &c. The Jews, under the profeſſion of the letter of the law, againſt Chriſt, that came to fulfil the law, and all his ſpiritual followers and diſciples: and all the falſe apoſtate Chriſtians againſt the true and ſpiritual Chriſtians and martyrs of Jeſus.

So, your conflict is for the ſpiritual appearance of Chriſt Jeſus, againſt thoſe that profeſs him in words, but in works and converſation every day deny him; doing deſpite to the Spirit of grace in themſelves, and thoſe that are led by it. But though Gog and Magog ſhall gather themſelves together to lay waſte the city of God, yet the Lord hath determined their deſtruction, and he will bring it to paſs.

" Wherefore rejoice, O thou little hill of God, and " clap thy hands for joy; for he that is faithful and " true, juſt, and righteous, and able to deliver thee, " dwells in the midſt of thee: who will cauſe thee " to grow and increaſe, till thou becomeſt a great " mountain, till thou becomeſt the praiſe of the " whole earth, and the whole earth be filled with thy " glory."

And to you all, who are the followers of the Lamb of God, who was dead, but is alive, and lives for evermore; who is riſen in your hearts, as a bright ſhining light, and is leading you out of the nature and ſpirit of this world, in the path of regeneration; I have this to ſay, by way of holy encouragement unto you all, the Lord God eternal, that was, and is, and is to come, hath reſerved for you the glories of the laſt days: and if ſo be that the followers and martyrs of Jeſus in ages paſt, when the church was going into the wilderneſs, and his witneſſes into ſackcloth, were, notwithſtanding, ſo noble and valiant for the truth on earth, that they loved not their lives unto death, and ſuffered joyfully the ſpoiling of their goods for the teſtimony of Jeſus, how much more ought you all to be encouraged unto faithfulneſs, who are come to the reſurrection of the day which ſhall never more be eclipſed; in which the bridegroom is to come, to fetch you his ſpouſe out of the wilderneſs, to give you beauty for aſhes, and the garment of praiſe for the ſpirit of heavineſs; who will cover you with his Spirit, and adorn you with his fine linen, the righteouſneſs of the ſaints. Lean upon his breaſt for ever, and know your joining in an everlaſting covenant with him,

him, that he may lift up the light of his countenance upon you, and delight to do you good: that in bleſſing he may bleſs you, increaſe you, and multiply you in all ſpiritual bleſſings now and for ever; that to God, through him, you may live all the days of your appointed time. To whom be glory and honour, praiſes and thankſgivings in the church throughout all ages, and for ever.

I am, in the faith, patience, tribulation, and hope of the kingdom of Jeſus, your friend and brother,

W. PENN.

My companions in the labour and travail of the teſtimony of Jeſus, ſalute you all in the love of our God. We have paſſed through ſeveral cities of Germany, and are now at Franckfort, where the Lord hath given us three bleſſed opportunities with a ſerious and ſeeking people; whereof, as in other places of this country, many of them are perſons of great worldly quality. Bleſſed be the name of the Lord, to whom be glory for ever.

W. P.

Franckfort, the 22d of the 6th month, 1677.

The fifth day[f] we arrived by the way of Worms at Criſheim, in the Paltzgrave's country; where we found, to our great joy, a meeting of tender and faithful people: but it ſeems the inſpector of the Calviniſts had enjoined the vaught, or chief officer, not to ſuffer any preaching to be amongſt our friends; who, poor man, fearing the indignation of the clergy, came next day to deſire friends not to ſuffer any preaching to be amongſt them, leſt he ſhould be turned out of his place. To whom we deſired friends to ſay, that

[f] 23. 6. 5.

if he pleaſed he might apprehend us, and carry us to the prince, before whom we ſhould give an account of our teſtimony.

But, bleſſed be the Lord, we enjoyed our meeting quietly and comfortably; of which a coach-full from Worms made part, amongſt whom was a governor of that country, and one of the chief Lutheran prieſts.

It came upon me in this place to ſalute the princeſs and counteſs with this following epiſtle.

A ſalutation to Elizabeth, Princeſs Palatine, and Anna Maria de Hornes, Counteſs of Hornes, at Herwerden in Germany.

My worthy friends,

SUCH as I have, ſuch I give unto you, the dear and tender ſalutation of light, life, peace, and ſalvation by Jeſus Chriſt, the bleſſed Lamb of God; with the unſpeakable joy of which he hath ſo repleniſhed my ſoul at this time, that my cup overfloweth; which is the reward of them that cheerfully drink his cup of tribulations, that love the croſs, and triumph in all the ſhame, reproaches, and contradictions of the world that do attend it. My God take you by the hand, and gently lead you through all the difficulties of regeneration; and as you have begun to know and love his ſweet and tender drawings, ſo reſign the whole conduct of your lives to him.

Diſpute not away the precious ſenſe that you have of him, be it as ſmall as a grain of muſtard-ſeed, which is the leaſt of all ſeeds; there is a power in it (if you do but believe) to remove the greateſt mountains of oppoſition. O precious is this faith! yea, more precious than the glory and honour of this world that periſheth. It will give courage to go with Chriſt before Caiaphas and Pilate; yea, to bear his croſs without the camp, and to be crucified with him, knowing that the Spirit of God and of glory ſhall reſt upon them. To the inheritors of this faith, is

is reſerved the eternal kingdom of peace and joy in the Holy Ghoſt.

O be you of that little flock, unto whom Jeſus ſaid, "Fear not, it is your Father's good pleaſure to give "you the kingdom:" and to be of this flock, you muſt become as ſheep; and to be as ſheep, you muſt become harmleſs; and to become harmleſs, you muſt hear and follow the Lamb of God, as he is that bleſſed light which diſcovereth and condemneth all the unfruitful works of darkneſs, and maketh harmleſs as a dove; which word, *all*, leaveth not one peccadillo or circumſtance undiſcovered or unjudged; and the word *darkneſs* taketh in the whole night of apoſtacy; and the word *unfruitful*, is a plain judgment againſt all thoſe dark works. Wherefore out of them all come, and be you ſeparated; and God will give you a crown of life, which ſhall never fade away.

O! the lowneſs and meanneſs of thoſe ſpirits, that deſpiſe or neglect the joys and glories of immortality, for the ſake of the things which are ſeen, that are but temporal, debaſing the nobility of their ſouls, abandoning the government of the Divine Spirit, and embracing with all ardency of affection the ſenſual pleaſures of this life; but ſuch as perſevere therein, ſhall not enter into God's reſt for ever.

But this is not all that hindereth and obſtructeth in the holy way of bleſſedneſs; for there is the world's fear, as well as the world's joy, that obſtructeth many, or elſe Chriſt had not ſaid, "Fear not," to his little flock. The ſhame of the croſs is a yoke too uneaſy, and a burden too heavy for fleſh and blood to bear, it is true; but therefore ſhall fleſh and blood never enter into the kingdom of God. And not to them that are born of the fleſh, but to thoſe that are born of the Spirit, through the word of regeneration, is appointed the kingdom, and that throne which ſhall judge the twelve tribes of Iſrael, and all the world. The Lord perfect what he hath begun in you, and give you dominion over the love and fear of this world.

And, my friends, if you would profit in the way of God, deſpiſe not the day of ſmall things in yourſelves: know this, that to deſire and ſincerely to breathe after the Lord, is a bleſſed ſtate; you muſt ſeek before you find. Do you believe? Make not haſte, extinguiſh not thoſe ſmall beginnings by an over-earneſt or impatient deſire of victory. God's time is the beſt time; be you faithful, and your conflict ſhall end with glory to God, and the reward of peace to your own ſouls. Therefore love the judgment, and love the fire; ſtart not aſide, neither flinch from the ſcorchings of it, for it will purify and refine you as gold ſeven times tried; then cometh the ſtamp and ſeal of the Lord upon his own veſſel, "Holineſs "to him for ever;" which he never gave, nor will give, to reprobate ſilver, the ſtate of the religious worſhippers of the world. And herein be comforted, that Sion ſhall be redeemed through judgment, and her converts through righteouſneſs; and after the appointed time of mourning is over, the Lord will give beauty for aſhes, the oil of joy for mourning, and the garment of praiſe for the ſpirit of heavineſs. Then ſhall you be able to ſay, "Who is he that condemn-"eth us? God hath juſtified us: there is no con-"demnation to us that are in Chriſt Jeſus, who walk "not after the fleſh, but after the Spirit."

Wherefore, my dear friends, walk not only not after the fleſhly luſts, but alſo not after the fleſhly religions and worſhips of the world: for that which is not born of the Spirit is fleſh; and all fleſh ſhall wither as the graſs, and the beauty of it ſhall fade away as the flower of the field, before God's ſun, that is riſen and riſing. But the word of the Lord, in which is life, and that life the light of men, ſhall endure for ever, and give life eternal to them that love, and wait in, the light.

And I intreat you, by the love you have for Jeſus, have a care how you touch with fleſhly births, or ſay amen, by word or practice, to that which is not born of the Spirit: for God is not to be found of that, in your-

yourſelves or others, that calleth him Father, and he hath never begotten it in them; that latitude and conformity is not of God, but ſecretly grieveth his Spirit, and obſtructeth the growth of the ſoul in its acquaintance and intimate communion with the Lord. "Withont me," ſaith Jeſus, "you can do nothing; "and all that came before me are thieves and rob-"bers." If ſo, O what are they that pray, and preach, and ſing without Jeſus, and follow not him in thoſe duties, but even in them crucify him? O that I may find in you an ear to hear, and an heart to perceive and embrace theſe truths of Jeſus!

And I can ſay, I have great cauſe to hope, and patiently to wait, till the ſalvation of God be farther revealed to you, and the whole family; with whom, I muſt acknowledge, I was abundantly refreſhed and comforted, in that God in meaſure made known the riches of his grace, and operation of his celeſtial power to you; and his witneſs ſhall dwell with you, if we never ſee you more, that God magnified his own ſtrength in our weakneſs. With him we leave our travails, affectionately recommending you to his holy Spirit of grace, that you may be conformed to the image of his own dear Son, who is able and ready to preſerve you. O ſtay your minds upon him, and he will keep you in perfect peace, and abide with you for ever. The Almighty take you into his holy protection now and for ever.

I am your true friend, ready to ſerve you, with with fervent love, in the will of God,

W. PENN.

My dear companions do, with me, give you the dear ſalutation of unfeigned love, and thoſe in the family that love the Lord Jeſus in ſincerity and truth without wavering.

P. S. We are this evening bound towards Manheim, the court of the Prince Palatine, and have travelled about twelve Engliſh miles on foot.

That

That night we lodged at Franckenthall, and got next morning,[s] being the ſeventh day of the week, to Manheim; but were diſappointed of our deſign, which was to ſpeak with the prince, for he was gone the day before to Heydelbergh, his chief city, about fifteen Engliſh miles from that place. And conſidering that by reaſon of the meeting next day with friends at Criſheim already appointed, we could neither go forward, nor ſtay till he returned; and yet being not clear to come away, as if we had never endeavoured to viſit him, it was upon me to write him the following letter, to let him know we had been there, and briefly our end in coming.

To the Prince Elector Palatine of Heydelbergh.

GREAT PRINCE!

IT would ſeem ſtrange that I, both a ſtranger and a ſubject, ſhould uſe this freedom of addreſs to a prince, were he not one whoſe actions ſhew him to be of a free diſpoſition, and eaſy acceſs to all: would to God all princes were of that mind! But I have not choſen this way of application; I am driven to it, by the diſappointment thy abſence from this court gave me, and the neceſſity I am under to expedite my return. And though I cannot ſo fully, and conſequently not ſo clearly, expreſs by letter the grounds inducing me to attempt this viſit, yet this being all the way that is left me, I ſhall declare them as well as I can.

In the firſt place, I do, with all ſincere and Chriſtian reſpect, acknowledge and commend that indulgence thou giveſt to all people profeſſing religion, diſſenting from the national communion: for it is in itſelf a moſt *natural*, *prudent*, and *Chriſtian* thing.

NATURAL, becauſe it preſerves nature from being made a ſacrifice to the ſavage fury of fallible, yet proud opinions; outlawing men of parts, arts, induſ-

[s] 25. 6. 7.

try,

try, and honeſty, the grand requiſites of human ſociety, and expoſing them and their families to utter ruin for mere nonconformity, not to religion, but to modes and faſhions in religion.

CHRISTIAN, ſince the contrary expreſsly contradicteth both the precept and example of Chriſt, who taught us 'to love enemies, not to abuſe our friends, 'and triumph in the deſtruction of our harmleſs neighbours.' He rebuked his diſciples, when they called for "fire from heaven upon Diſſenters," it may be oppoſers: certainly, then, he never intended that they ſhould kindle "fire upon earth to devour men for "conſcience." And if Chriſt, to whom all power given, and his holy apoſtles, refuſed to employ human force and artifice ſo much as to conſerve themſelves, it is an arrogancy every way indefenſible in thoſe that pretend to be their followers, that they aſſume an authority to ſuperſede, controul, and contradict the precepts and examples of Chriſt and his apoſtles; whoſe kingdom not being of the nature of this ambitious violent world, was not erected or maintained by thoſe weapons that are carnal, but ſpiritual and intellectual, adequate to the nature of the ſoul, and mighty through God to caſt down the ſtrong-holds of ſin, and every vain imagination exalted in man above the lowly meek fear of God, that ought to have the pre-eminence in the hearts of the ſons of men.

Indulgence is PRUDENT, in that it preſerveth concord: no kingdom divided againſt itſelf can ſtand. It encourageth arts, parts, and induſtry, to ſhew and improve themſelves, which indeed are the ornaments, ſtrength, and wealth of a country: it encourageth people to tranſplant into this land of liberty, where the ſweat of the brow is not made the forfeit of the conſcience.

And, laſtly, it rendereth the prince peculiarly *ſafe* and *great*. *Safe*, becauſe all intereſts, for intereſt ſake, are bound to love and court him. *Great*, in that he is not governed or clogged with the power of his clergy,

clergy, which in moſt countries is not only a co-ordinate power, a kind of duumvirateſhip in government, *imperium in imperio*, at leaſt an eclipſe to monarchy, but a ſuperior power, and rideth the prince to their deſigns, holding the helm of the government, and ſteering not by the laws of civil freedom, but certain eccleſiaſtical maxims of their own, to the maintenance and enlargement of their worldly empire in their church: and all this villainy acted under the ſacred, peaceable, and alluring name of CHRIST, his miniſtry and church: though as remote from their nature, as the wolf from the ſheep, and the pope from Peter.

The next thing I ſhould have taken the liberty to have diſcourſed, would have been this: what encouragement a colony of virtuous and induſtrious families might hope to receive from thee, in caſe they ſhould tranſplant themſelves into this country, which certainly in itſelf is very excellent, reſpecting taxes, oaths, arms, &c.

Farther, to have repreſented the condition of ſome of our *friends*, and thy own ſubjects; who, though they are liable to the ſame tax as Meniſts, &c. (not by part the caſe of other diſſenters) yet the vaught of the town where they live, came yeſterday to forbid all preaching amongſt them, which implies a ſort of contradiction to the indulgence given.

And, in the laſt place, foraſmuch as all men owe their being to ſomething greater than themſelves, to which it is reaſonable to believe they are accountable, from whence follow rewards or puniſhments;

I had an earneſt deſire to have ſpoken of the nature, truth, uſe, benefit, and reward of religion; and therein, as to have diſcourſed what is Chriſtian religion *in it ſelf*, freed from thoſe unreaſonable garbs ſome men make it to wear, ſo juſtly offenſive to wiſe and thinking men, ſo to have proved the principle and life of the people in ſcorn called Quakers to have been ſuitable to the true followers of holy JESUS. But as the particulars would ſwell a letter to a book, I ſhall take

the

the freedom to preſent thee, upon my return, with ſome tracts treating upon all thoſe ſubjects.

Prince! My ſoul is filled with love and reſpect to thee and thy family; I wiſh you all true and laſting felicity, and earneſtly deſire that you may never forget your afflictions; and, in the remembrance of them, be dehorted from thoſe luſts and impieties, which draw the vengeance of heaven upon the greateſt families on earth, that God may look upon you with the favourable eye of his providence. And bleſſed is that man, whoſe God, (by profeſſion) is the LORD in reality, viz. that is ruled and governed by the Lord, and that lives in ſubjection to his grace; that having a divine ſenſe of God in his heart, delights to retain that ſenſe and knowledge of him, and be meditating in his noble royal law, that converts the ſoul to God, and redeems man from the ſenſual pleaſures of this world, to the true ſatisfaction of the intellectual and divine life.

O the meanneſs and lowneſs of their ſpirits, that abandon themſelves to the government of ſenſe, the animal life; thereby debaſing their natures, rejecting the divine light, that ſhineth in their hearts, ſaying, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we ſhall die," forgetting whence they are deſcended, and not conſidering the peace and joy of the virtuous!

I deſire that the Lord would put it into thy heart to think of thy latter end; and, with the 'light of 'Chriſt in thy conſcience,' examine how it ſtands with thy ſoul, that thou mayeſt know, and diligently watch to do, thoſe things that belong to thy eternal peace.

One thing more give me leave to recommend to thee, and that is, to be very careful of inculcating generous, free and righteous principles into thy ſon, who is like to ſucceed thee; that when thou art gone, the reputation of the country may not ſink by contrary practices, nor the people of divers judgments (now thy ſubjects) be diſappointed, diſtreſſed, or ruined.

Which,

Which, with ſincere deſires for thy temporal and eternal good, concludes this,

Thy unknown, but ſincere friend,

WILLIAM PENN.

From Manheim, the 25th of the 6th month, 1677.

Which being done, and having refreſhed ourſelves, we returned that night by the Rhine to Worms; from whence we the next morning, being the firſt day of the week,[h] walked on foot to Criſheim, which is about ſix Engliſh miles from Worms. We had a good meeting, from the tenth till the third hour, and the Lord's power ſweetly opened to many of the inhabitants of the town that were at the meeting; yea, the vaught, or chief officer himſelf, ſtood at the door behind the barn, where he could hear, and not be ſeen; who went to the prieſt, and told him that it was his work, if we were hereticks, to diſcover us to be ſuch; but for his part, he had heard nothing but what was good, and he would not meddle with us.

In the evening we had a more retired meeting of the friends only, very weighty and tender; yea, the power roſe in an high operation among them, and great was the love of God that roſe in our hearts at the meeting to viſit them; and there is a lovely, ſweet, and true ſenſe among them: we were greatly comforted in them, and they were greatly comforted in us. Poor hearts! a little handful, ſurrounded with great and mighty countries of darkneſs! It is the Lord's great goodneſs and mercy to them, that they are ſo finely kept, even natural, in the ſeed of life. They were moſt of them gathered by dear William Ames.

The next morning[i] we had another meeting, where we took our leave of them, and ſo came, accompanied by ſeveral of them, to Worms; where having

[h] 26. 6. 1. [i] 27. 6. 2.

refreſhed

refreſhed ourſelves, we went to viſit the Lutheran prieſt, that was at the meeting the ſixth day before at Criſheim; he received us very kindly, and his wife, not without ſome ſenſe of our teſtimony. After we had diſcourſed about an hour with him, of the true and heavenly miniſtry and worſhip, and in what they ſtood, and what all people muſt come unto, if ever they will know how to worſhip God aright, we departed, and immediately ſent them ſeveral good books of friends, in High Dutch.

We took boat about the third hour in the afternoon, and came down the river Rhine to Mentz, where we arrived about the fifth hour in the morning,[k] and immediately took an open chariot to Franckfort, where we came about the firſt hour in the afternoon.

We preſently informed ſome of thoſe people, that had received us the time before, of our return to that city, with deſires that we might have a meeting that afternoon; which was readily granted us by the noble women, at whoſe houſe we met, whither reſorted ſome that we had not ſeen before: and the Lord did, after a living manner, open our hearts and mouths amongſt them, which was received by them as a farther confirmation of the coming of the day of the Lord unto them; yea, with much joy and kindneſs they received us.

The meeting held till the ninth hour at night; they conſtrained us to ſtay and eat with them, which was alſo a bleſſed meeting to them. Before we parted, we deſired a ſelect meeting the next morning, at the ſame place, of thoſe that we felt more inwardly affected with truth's teſtimony, and that were neareſt unto the ſtate of a ſilent meeting, which they joyfully aſſented to.

We went to our lodging, and the next morning[l] we returned unto them, with whom we had a bleſſed and heavenly opportunity, for we had room for our

[k] 28. 6. 3. [l] 29. 6. 4.

life

life amongſt them: it was among faithful friends, life ran as oil, and ſwam a-top of all.

We recommended a *ſilent meeting* unto them, that they might grow into an *holy ſilence* unto themſelves; that the mouth that calls God *Father*, that is not of his own *birth*, may be ſtopped, and all *images* confounded, that they may hear the ſoft *voice of Jeſus* to inſtruct them, and receive his ſweet life to feed them, and to build them up.

About the ninth hour we departed from that place, and went to Vander Walls, where the meeting was the time before, and there we had a more publick meeting of all that pleaſed to come. The Lord did ſo abundantly appear among us, that they were more broken than we had ſeen them at any time; yea, they were exceeding tender and low, and the love of God was much raiſed in their hearts to the teſtimony. In this ſenſible frame we left them, and the bleſſings and peace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt with and among them.

And after we had refreſhed ourſelves at our inn, we took boat down the Maine to Mentz, where we arrived about the fifth hour. It is a great city, but a dark and ſuperſtitious place, according to the Popiſh way, and is under the government of a Popiſh biſhop. We ſtayed no longer there than till our boat was ready, which might be better than half an hour. From Mentz we went on our way down the Rhine ſix German miles, and came that night to Hampack: from thence the next morning,[m] we went by Bacherach, Coblentz, and other places upon the Rhine, to Treſy that night, being about eleven German miles. Next day,[n] being the ſixth day of the week, we got to Cullen, a great Popiſh city, about the third hour in the afternoon. We gave notice to a ſober merchant in that town, 'a ſerious ſeeker after God,' that we were there arrived, who preſently came to us. We ſat down, and had a living and precious opportunity with

[m] 30. 6. 5. [n] 31. 6. 6.

him,

him, opening to him the 'way of the Lord, as it 'had been manifeſted to us;' intreating him, if he knew any in that city, who had deſires after the Lord, or that were willing to come to a meeting, that he would pleaſe to inform them of our being here, and of our deſire to meet with them. He anſwered, 'He 'would readily do it.'

This night, when we were in bed, came the reſident of ſeveral princes, (a ſerious and tender man) to find us out: we had ſome diſcourſe with him; but being late, he promiſed to ſee us the next day.

The next morning° came the aforeſaid merchant, informing us that it was a buſy time, ſeveral preparing for the mart or great fair at Franckfort; yet ſome would come, and he deſired the meeting might be at his houſe about three in the afternoon.

In the morning we went to viſit that reſident, whom we met coming to ſee us; but he returned and brought us to his houſe. We had a good time with him; for the man is an ancient ſeeker, oppreſſed with the cares of this world, and he may be truly ſaid to mourn under them: 'His heart was opened to us, and he 'bleſſed God that he had lived to ſee us.' We gave him an account how the Lord had appeared in the land of our nativity, and how he had dealt with us; which was as the cool and gentle ſhowers upon the dry and ſcorched deſert. About noon we returned home, and after we had eaten, we went to the merchant's houſe to the meeting, where came four perſons, one of which was the Preſbyterian prieſt, who preached in private to the Proteſtants of that place; for they are are no ways publickly allowed in that city. Surely the true day and power of the Lord made known itſelf to the conſciences of them preſent: yea, they felt that we were ſuch as had been with Jeſus, and that had obtained our teſtimony, through the ſufferings and travails of the croſs. They were tender: the reſident and merchant conducted us to our inn, and

° 1. 7. 7.

from thence to the boat, being about ſeven at night. We ſet out towards the city of Duyſburgh, of the Calviniſt way, belonging to the elector of Brandenburg, in and near to which we had been informed there were a retired and ſeeking people.

We arrived there the next day about noon,[p] being the firſt day of the week. The firſt thing we did after we came to our inn, was to enquire out one Dr. Maſtricht, a civilian, for whom we had a letter to introduce us, from a merchant of Cullen; whom quickly finding, we informed him what we came about, deſiring his aſſiſtance, which he readily promiſed us. The firſt thing we offered, was an acceſs to the counteſs of Falchenſteyn and Bruch: he told us, 'ſhe was an extraordinary woman, one in whom 'we ſhould find things worthy of our love; that he 'would write to her, to give us an opportunity with 'her; that the fitteſt time was the preſent time, in 'that we might find her at the miniſter's of Mulheim, 'on the other ſide of the river from her father's caſtle; for that ſhe uſed to come out the firſt day 'morning, and not return till night: that we muſt 'be very ſhy of making ourſelves publick, not only 'for our own ſakes, but for hers, who was ſeverely 'treated by her father, for the ſake of thoſe religious 'inclinations that appeared in her, although her father 'pretended to be of the Proteſtant religion.'

We therefore diſpatched towards Mulheim, having received his letter, and being alſo accompanied by him about one third of the way; but being ſix Engliſh miles, and on foot, we could not compaſs the place before the meeting was over; for it was paſt three before we could get out from Duyſburgh; and following that way which led to the backſide of the graef's caſtle and orchard, which was alſo a common way to the town, (though if we had known the country we might have avoided it) we met one Henry Smith, ſchoolmaſter and catechizer of Speldorp, to

[p] 2. 7. 1.

whom

whom we imparted our buſineſs, and gave the letter of Dr. Maſtricht of Duyſburgh, to introduce us to the counteſs.

He told us, 'He had juſt left her, being come over 'the water from worſhip, but he would carry the 'letter to her, and bring an anſwer ſuddenly;' but notwithſtanding ſtaid near an hour. When he came, he gave us this anſwer, viz. 'That ſhe would be glad 'to meet us, but ſhe did not know where; but rather 'inclined that we ſhould go over the water to the 'miniſter's houſe, whither, if ſhe could, ſhe would 'come to us; but that a ſtrict hand was held over her 'by her father.' After ſome more ſerious diſcourſe with him, concerning the "witneſs of God in the "conſcience," and the diſcovery, teſtimony, and judgment of that "true light," unto which all muſt bow that would be heirs of the kingdom of God, (recommending him to the ſame) we parted; he returning homewards, and we advancing to the town. But being neceſſitated to paſs by her father's caſtle, who is ſeignior or lord of that country, it ſo fell out, that at that very inſtant he came forth to walk: and ſeeing us in the habit of ſtrangers, ſent one of his attendants to demand who, and from whence we were, and whither we went? Calling us afterwards to him, and aſking us the ſame queſtions. We anſwered, 'That we were Engliſhmen come from Holland, go-'ing no farther in theſe parts than his own town of 'Mulheim.' But not ſhewing him, or paying him, that worldly homage and reſpect which was expected from us, ſome of his gentlemen aſked us, 'If we knew 'whom we were before? And if we did not uſe to 'deport ourſelves after another manner before noble-'men, and in the preſence of princes?' We anſwered, 'We were not conſcious to ourſelves of any diſre-'ſpect or unſeemly behaviour.' One of them ſharply replied, 'Why do you not pull off your hats, then? 'Is it reſpect to ſtand covered in the preſence of the 'ſovereign of the country?' We told them, 'It was 'our practice in the preſence of our prince, who is a

'great king; and that we uncovered not our heads 'to any, but in our duty to Almighty God.' Upon which the graef called us Quakers, ſaying unto us, 'We have no need of Quakers here; get you out of 'my dominions; you ſhall not go to my town.'

We told him, 'That we were an innocent people, 'that feared God, and had good-will towards all men; 'that we had true reſpect in our hearts towards him, 'and would be glad to do him any real good or ſer-'vice; and that the Lord had made it matter of con-'ſcience to us, not to conform ourſelves to the vain 'and fruitleſs cuſtoms of this world,' or words to this purpoſe. However, he commanded ſome of his ſoldiers to ſee us out of his territories; to whom we alſo declared ſomewhat of the reaſon and intention of our coming to that place, in the fear and love of God, and they were civil to us.

We parted with much peace and comfort in our hearts; and as we paſſed through the village where the ſchool-maſter dwelt, (yet in the dominions of the graef) we called upon him, and in the ſenſe of God's power and kingdom, opened to him the meſſage and teſtimony of truth, which the man received with a weighty and ſerious ſpirit. For under the dominion of the graef there is a large congregation of Proteſtants called Calviniſts, of a more religious, inward, and zealous frame of ſpirit, than any body of people we met with or heard of in Germany.

After we had ended our teſtimony to him, we took our leave, deſiring him not to fear, but to be of good courage, for the day of the Lord was haſtening upon all the workers of iniquity; and to them that feared his name, wherever ſcattered throughout the earth, he would cauſe the "Sun of righteouſneſs to ariſe and "viſit them, with healing under his wings:" and to remember us with true love and kindneſs to the counteſs, daughter to this graef; and to deſire her not to be offended in us, nor to be diſmayed at the diſpleaſure of her father; but eye the Lord, that hath viſited her ſoul with his holy light, by which ſhe ſeeth the vanity

of

of this world, and in ſome meaſure the emptineſs and deadneſs of the religions that are in it, and he would preſerve her from the fear of the wrath of man, that worketh not the "righteouſneſs of God." So we left the peace of Jeſus with him, and walked on towards Duyſburgh, being about ſix Engliſh miles from thence, and near the eighth hour at night. The Lord was with us, and comforted our hearts as we walked, without any outward guide, through a tedious and ſolitary wood, about three miles long, with the joy of his ſalvation; giving us to remember, and to ſpeak one unto another of his bleſſed witneſſes in the days paſt, who wandered up and down like poor pilgrims and ſtrangers on the earth, their eye being to a city in the heavens, that had foundations, whoſe builder and maker is God.

Betwixt nine and ten we reached the walls of Duyſburgh, but the gates were ſhut; and there being no houſes without the walls, we laid us down together in the field, receiving both natural and ſpiritual refreſhment, bleſſed be the Lord. About three in the morning[q] we roſe, ſanctifying God in our hearts, that had kept us that night, and walked till five, often ſpeaking one to another of the great and notable day of the Lord dawning upon Germany, and on ſeveral places of that land that were almoſt ripe unto harveſt.

Soon after the clock had ſtruck five, they opened the gates of the city, and we had not long got to our inn, but it came upon me, with a ſweet, yet fervent power, to viſit this perſecuted counteſs, with a ſalutation from the love and life of Jeſus, and to open unto her more plainly the way of the Lord; which I did in this following epiſtle.

[q] 3. 7. 2.

To the Counteſs of Falchenſteyn and Bruch, at Mulheim.

My dear friend,

JESUS, the immaculate Lamb of God, (grieved and crucified by all the workers of iniquity) illuminate thy underſtanding, bleſs and be with thy ſpirit for ever!

Though unknown, yet art thou much beloved, for the ſake of thy deſires and breathings of ſoul after the living God: the report whereof, from ſome in the ſame ſtate, hath made deep impreſſion of true kindneſs upon my ſpirit, and raiſed in me a very ſingular and fervent inclination to viſit thee; and the rather, becauſe of that ſuffering and tribulation thou haſt begun to endure for the ſake of thy zeal towards God, myſelf having from my childhood been both a ſeeker after the Lord, and a great ſufferer for that cauſe, from parents, relations, companions, and the magiſtrates of this world. The remembrance whereof hath ſo much the more endeared thy condition unto me; and my ſoul hath often, in the ſweet ſenſe and feeling of the holy preſence of God, and the precious life of his dear Son in my heart, with great tenderneſs, implored his divine aſſiſtance unto thee, that thou mayeſt both be illuminated to do, and made willing to ſuffer, for his name's ſake; that the Spirit of God and of glory may reſt upon thy ſoul.

And truly I can ſay, I felt the good-will of God, his holy care, and heavenly viſitation of love to extend unto thee. But one thing more eſpecially lay upon my ſpirit to have communicated unto thee, which made me the more preſſing for an opportunity to ſpeak with thee, and that was this, 'That thou 'ſhouldeſt have a true, right, and diſtinct knowledge 'of thy own ſtate, and what THAT is which hath vi-'ſited thee; and in *what* thy faith, patience, hope, 'and ſalvation ſtand; *where* to wait, and *how* to find 'the Lord, and diſtinguiſh between that which is

'born

'born of God, and that which is not; both with re-
'ſpect to thyſelf in all the motions and conceptions
'of thy heart, and with reſpect to others in their re-
'ligious worſhips and performances; to the end that
'thou mayeſt not be deceived about the things relat-
'ing to God's kingdom, and thy eternal peace:' this is of greateſt weight.

Now know certainly, THAT which hath diſcovered unto thee the vanities of this world, the emptineſs and the fading of all earthly glory, the bleſſedneſs of the righteous, and the joy of the world that is to come, is the light of Chriſt Jeſus, wherewith he hath enlightened thy ſoul: "for in him was life, and that life "is the light of mankind," John i. 4. 9. Thus God "promiſed, by the prophet Iſaiah, to give him, viz. "for a light to lighten the Gentiles, and for his ſal-"vation to the ends of the earth." So that Chriſt the light is God's gift, and eternal life is hid in him; yea, all the treaſures of wiſdom and knowledge, who is the light of the goſpel-temple, true believers, Rev. xxi. And all that receive this light into their hearts, and bring their deeds to it, to ſee in what ground they are wrought, whether in God or in the evil-one, and make this bleſſed light the guide of their life; fearing, with an holy fear, to do any thing that this light manifeſts to be evil; waiting and watching with a godly care to be preſerved blameleſs before the Lord; I ſay, all ſuch become children of light, and witneſſes of the life of Jeſus. O bleſſed wilt thou be for ever, if in the way of this holy light thy mind walks to the end!

Let *this* that hath viſited thee lead thee; this ſeed of light and life, which is the ſeed of the kingdom; yea, it is Chriſt, the true and only ſeed of God, that viſited my ſoul, even in my young years; that ſpread my ſins in order before me, reproved me, and brought godly ſorrow upon me; making me often to weep in ſolitary places, and ſay within my ſoul, 'O that I 'knew the Lord as I ought to know him! O that I 'ſerved him as I ought to ſerve him!' Yea, often

was there a great concern upon my ſpirit about mine eternal ſtate, mournfully deſiring that the Lord would give my ſoul reſt in the great day of trouble. Now was all the glory of the world as a bubble; yea, nothing was dear to me that I might win Chriſt; for the love, friendſhip, and pleaſure of this world were a burden unto my ſoul. And in this ſeeking-ſtate I was directed to the teſtimony of Jeſus in mine own conſcience, as the true ſhining light, giving me to diſcern the thoughts and intents of mine own heart. And no ſooner was I turned unto it, but I found it to be that which from my childhood had viſited me, though I diſtinctly knew it not: and when I received it in the love of it, it ſhewed me all that ever I had done, and reproved all the unfruitful works of darkneſs; judging me as a man in the fleſh, and laying judgment to the line, and righteouſneſs to the plummet in me. And as by the 'brightneſs of his coming 'into my ſoul,' he diſcovered the man of ſin there, upon his throne, ſo by the 'breath of his mouth,' which is the two-edged ſword of his Spirit, he deſtroyeth his power and kingdom. And ſo having made me a witneſs of the death of the croſs, he hath alſo made me a witneſs of his reſurrection. So that in good meaſure my ſoul can now ſay, 'I am juſtified 'in the Spirit; and though the ſtate of condemna-'tion unto death was glorious, yet juſtification unto 'life was, and is, more glorious.'

In this ſtate of the new man all is new: behold new heavens, and a new earth! Old things come to be done away; the old man with his deeds put off. Now new thoughts, new deſires, new affections, new love, new friendſhip, new ſociety, new kindred, new faith; even that which overcometh this world, through many tribulations; and new hope, even that living hope that is founded upon true experience, which holds out all ſtorms, and can ſee to the glory that is inviſible (to carnal eyes) in the midſt of the greateſt tempeſt.

Now

Now it is the ſame bleſſed ſeed of light, life, and grace, which from God the Father is ſown in thy heart, and which hath moved and wrought there the change which thou haſt witneſſed from the ſpirit of this world: turn to it, watch in it, that by it thou mayeſt be kept from all that it diſcovers to be contrary to God; eſpecially from thyſelf, from thine own runnings, willings, and ſtrivings: 'For whatſoever is 'not born of the Spirit is fleſh; and that inherits not 'the kingdom of God; but all that ſow to it ſhall 'inherit corruption. By this thou wilt come to feel, not only all ſin to be a burden, but all thine own righteouſneſs, yea, all man's righteouſneſs, to be a burden. Thou wilt ſee the difference betwixt the duties and prayers which thou begetteſt, and the duties and prayers which, in thy true ſilence from all ſelf-activity of mind, the Lord begets in thee.

O that thou mighteſt know the myſtery of the new birth, and what that is that can truly call God *Father!* even that that is begotten of him, which liveth and breatheth, and hath its beginning and being, in that life which is hid with Chriſt in God, and by which it hath been quickened to the knowledge and worſhip of Chriſt and God. And this thou ſhalt not fail to know and enjoy, as thou patiently ſuffereſt the Lord to work his own work in thee, by his own bleſſed Spirit. And that which will give thee to ſavour, and diſcern the right motions and conceptions, duties and performances in thyſelf, from the falſe, will give thee to ſavour and diſcern that which is right from that which is falſe in others; that which is of God, from that which is of man.

Have a care of gathering of ſticks, and kindling a fire of *thine own*, and then compaſſing thyſelf about with the ſparks of the fire which thou haſt kindled, for the end of this ſtate is to lie down in ſorrow; becauſe the heavenly fire is abſent, which maketh the ſacrifice acceptable: yea, the Lord may ſtir in thy heart, but thou mayeſt bring forth: but he that gives to conceive, he brings to the birth, and he giveth

power

power to bring forth acceptably: "for without Chriſt "we can do nothing;" and bleſſed are they that ſtir not before the angel moveth the waters, and go not before Chriſt, but are led by him, and that awaken not their Beloved till he pleaſe; in whoſe hands the times and the ſeaſons are. O bleſſed are they, whoſe eyes are opened to ſee him always preſent, a God always nigh at hand; whoſe hearts are ſtayed upon his holy appearance in them, and are thereby tranſlated into his likeneſs; whoſe faith and hope are in Chriſt in them, the hope of glory!

My dear friend, weigh theſe things with a ſerious, retired, ſweet and tender frame of ſpirit; and the God, that hath called me and thee, by the light of his dear Son, open thine underſtanding to perceive the truth as it is in Jeſus, and what is the myſtery of the fellowſhip of the ſaints in light. So to the Lord I recommend thee, the watchman and keeper of Iſrael. The Lord be thy ſtrength and holy comfort, and ſpeak peace to thee, and never leave thee nor forſake thee, till he hath conducted thee through all tribulations, to his everlaſting kingdom of reſt and glory.

O dear heart, be valiant, and ſtay thyſelf upon Chriſt Jeſus the everlaſting rock, and feel him a fountain in thy ſoul; feel his blood to cleanſe, and his blood to drink, and his fleſh to eat: feed upon him, for God hath given him for the life of the world.

I had ſeen thee, had not thy father's ſtrange ſort of ſeverity hindered. I confeſs, I do not uſe to be ſo treated in mine own country, where the Lord hath raiſed up many thouſands of witneſſes, that he hath gathered out of all ſects and profeſſions, to worſhip him, not in their *own* ſpirits or wills, but in *his* will, ſpirit, and truth: and we are generally, after much affliction and ſuffering, in good eſteem, even with the great ones of this world. And this let me add for thy particular comfort, that though I have been a man of great anguiſh and ſorrow, becauſe of the ſcorn and reproach that hath attended my ſeparation from the world, (having been taught of Jeſus to turn my back upon

upon all, for the ſake of that glory that ſhall be revealed) yet to God's honour I can ſay it, I have an hundred friends for one, yea, God hath turned the hearts of mine enemies towards me; he hath fulfilled his promiſe, "to turn the hearts of the parents unto "the children." For my parents, that once diſowned me for this bleſſed teſtimony's ſake, (of the Jew, Chriſtian, circumciſion, and baptiſm inward, againſt the fleſhly Chriſtian) have come to love me above all, and have left me all; thinking they could never do and leave enough for me. O how good is the Lord! Yea, the ways of his mercy are even paſt finding out.

Wherefore, my dear friend, truſt in the Lord for ever; and the God of Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob, the God of the prophets and of the apoſtles, the God of all the holy martyrs of Jeſus, illuminate, fortify and preſerve thee ſtedfaſt, that in the end thou mayeſt receive the reward of life and eternal ſalvation: to whom be glory, and to the Lamb that ſits upon the throne, One God, and One Lord, bleſſed and magnified for ever and ever, Amen.

Thy great and faithful lover for the bleſſed and holy truth's ſake,

W. PENN.

Duyſburgh, the 13th of the 7th month, S. N. 1677.

The incloſed I received from a religious young woman at Franckfort. We have had a bleſſed opportunity in this town with ſome that have a deſire after the Lord, in which we are abnndantly comforted. We have juſt now received thy meſſage and ſalutation from H. V. which hath exceedingly refreſhed and revived us; for our trouble was not for ourſelves, but for thee; and we hope our love will not turn to thy diſadvantage; for we mentioned nothing of thy name, nor the name of any other perſon, only that we deſired to ſpeak with the miniſter of Mulheim, and that was only to the ſoldier. The Lord made

made us a good bed in the fields, and we were very well ſatisfied. We are going this afternoon out of the town towards Weſel, from thence to Cleve, and thence to Herwerden, the Lord willing. So farewell in the Lord.

Here followeth a letter to her father, the graef of Bruch and Falchenſteyn.

To the Graef or Earl of Bruch and Falchenſteyn.

Friend,

I Wiſh thy ſalvation; and the Lord reward thee good for the evil that thou ſhewedſt unto me and my friends the laſt night, if it be his will: but ſince thou art but a mortal man, one that muſt give an account, in common with all, to the immortal God, let me a little expoſtulate with thee.

By what law on earth are men, not ſcandalous, under no preſcription, harmleſs ſtrangers, about lawful occaſions, and men not vagabonds, but of good quality in their own country, ſtopped, menaced, ſent back with ſoldiers, and that at ſun-ſet, expoſed to the night in an unknown country, and therefore forced to lie in the fields: I ſay, by what law are we judged, yea, thus puniſhed before heard? Is this the law of nations, or nature, or Germany, or of Chriſtianity? Oh! Where's nature, where's civility? Where's hoſpitality? But where's Chriſtianity all this while? Well, but we are Quakers. Quakers! What's that for a name? Is there a law of the empire againſt that name? No: Did we own it? No: but if we had, the letters of that name neither make up drunkard, whoremaſter, thief, murderer, nor traitor: why ſo odious then? What harm hath it done? Why could *Jews* paſs juſt before us, that have *crucified* Chriſt, and not *Quakers*, that *never* crucified him? But ignorance is as well the mother of perſecution as devotion: and the falſe Chriſtian, and the falſe Jew, have but one father.

But,

But, *argumentum ad hominem*, my friend, bear with me a little: art thou a Chriſtian? How canſt thou be rude, uncivil, and perſecute then? Thou art to love enemies, not abuſe friends; harmleſs ſtrangers. Well, but this life is dead, this doctrine antiquated, Jeſus Chriſt turned out of doors, I perceive. What art thou for a Chriſtian? A Lutheran? Yes; canſt thou ſo lately forget the practices of the Papiſts, and with what abhorrence thy anceſtors declared againſt ſuch ſort of entertainment? Were not they deſpiſed, mocked, and perſecuted? And are their children treading in the ſteps of their old enemies? Friend, it is not reformed words, but a reformed life, that will ſtand thee in ſtead. It is not to live the life of the unregenerate, worldly-minded and wicked, under the profeſſion of the ſaints words, that give an entrance into God's reſt. Be not deceived, ſuch as thou ſoweſt, ſuch muſt thou reap in the day of the Lord. Thou art not come to the Berean-ſtate that tried all things, and therefore not noble in the Chriſtian ſenſe. The Bereans were noble, for they judged not before examination.

And for thy ſaying, 'We want no Quakers here,' I ay, under favour, you *do:* for a true Quaker is one that trembleth at the word of the Lord, that worketh out his ſalvation with fear and trembling, and all the days of his appointed time waiteth, in the light and grace of God, till his great change cometh; and that taketh up the daily croſs to his own will and luſts, that he may do the will of God, manifeſted to him by the light of Jeſus in his conſcience; and according to the holy precepts and examples in the holy ſcriptures of truth, laid down by Jeſus, and his followers, for the ages to come. Yea, he is one that *loveth* his enemies, rather than feareth them; that *bleſſeth* thoſe that curſe him, and *prayeth* for thoſe that deſpitefully treat him; as God knoweth we do for thee. And, O that thou wert ſuch a Quaker! Then wouldſt thou rule for God, and act in all things as one that muſt give an account to God for the deeds done

done in the body, whether good or evil. Then would temperance, mercy, juſtice, meekneſs, and the fear of the Lord dwell in thy heart, and in thy family and country. Repent, I exhort thee, and conſider thy latter end, for thy days are not like to be many in this world; therefore mind the things that make for thy eternal peace, leſt diſtreſs come upon thee as an armed man, and there be none to deliver thee.

I am, thy well-wiſhing friend,

W. P.

Duyſburgh 3d 7th Mo.
1677. S. N.

This being done, we went to Dr. Maſtricht's to inform him of what had paſſed; who, though of a kind diſpoſition, and very friendly to us, yet ſeemed ſurprized with fear, (the common diſeaſe of this country) crying out, 'What will become of this poor counteſs! 'Her father hath called her Quaker a long time, 'behaving himſelf very ſeverely to her, but now he 'will conclude ſhe is one indeed, and he will lead 'her a lamentable life: I know,' ſaid he, 'you care 'not for ſuffering, but ſhe is to be pitied.' We told him that we loved her, and pitied her, and could lay down our lives for her, as Chriſt hath done for us, in the will of God, if we could thereby do her good; but that we had not mentioned her name, neither was the letter that he gave us to her, ſo much as ſeen, or known of her father. But ſtill he feared that our carriage would incenſe the graef ſo much the more againſt both his daughter, and all thoſe ſerious and enquiring people up and down his country. We anſwered, with an earneſtneſs of ſpirit, that they had minded the incenſings and wrath of men *too much* already, and that true religion would never ſpring or grow under ſuch fears; and that it was time for all that felt any thing of the work of God in their hearts, to caſt away the ſlaviſh fear of man, and to come forth in the boldneſs of the true Chriſtian life; yea, that

that ſufferings break and make way for greater liberty, and that God was wiſer and ſtronger than man.

We aſked him if there were any in that city who enquired more diligently after the way of the Lord? He recommended us (as we had already been informed in another place) to the family of the prætor, or chief governor of the town; whoſe wife, and ſiſter more eſpecially, were ſeeking after the beſt things: ſo we parted with him in love; and, by the help of his daughter, were conducted to this family.

We had not been long there, before a ſchool-maſter of Duſſeldorp, and alſo a miniſter came in, enquiring after us, having heard of us at Mulheim, where we preached the day before to the people, or elſe by the way of our attempt to viſit that place, and the entertainment we received at the hands of the graef. He ſat down with us, and though we had already a ſweet opportunity, yet feeling the power of God to riſe, the meeting renewed: and, O magnified be the name of the Lord! he witneſſed to our teſtimony abundantly in all their hearts and conſciences, who were broken into much tenderneſs; and certainly there is a bleſſed power and zeal ſtirring in that young man; yea, he is very near the kingdom. So we took our leave of them, leaving the Lord's peace and bleſſing upon them.

It was now ſomething paſt the twelfth hour of the day. In the way to our lodging we met a meſſenger from the counteſs of Falchenſteyn, a pretty young tender man, near to the kingdom, who ſaluted us in her name with much love; telling us, 'That ſhe was 'much grieved at the entertainment of her father to-'wards us; adviſing us not to expoſe ourſelves to 'ſuch difficulties and hardſhips, for it would grieve 'her heart, that any that came in the love of God 'to viſit her, ſhould be ſo ſeverely handled;' for at ſome he ſets his dogs, upon others he puts his ſoldiers to beat them: 'but what ſhall I ſay! That, *itſelf* muſt 'not hinder you from doing good,' ſaid the counteſs.

We anſwered him, that his meſſage was joyful to us,

us, that ſhe had any regard to us, and that ſhe was not offended with us: we deſired the remembrance of our kind love unto her, and that he would let her know that our concern was not for ourſelves, but for her. We invited him to eat with us, but he told us he was an inhabitant of Meurs, and was in haſte to go home. So we briefly declared our principle and meſſage, recommending him to Chriſt the true light in his conſcience, and parted. So we went home to dinner, having neither eaten nor drank ſince firſt-day morning, and having lain out all night in the field.

We had no ſooner got to our inn, but the man was conſtrained to come after us, and ſat down with us, and enquired concerning our friends, their riſe, principles, and progreſs; and in all things that he deſired ſatisfaction about, he declared himſelf ſatisfied. Dinner being done, and all cleared, we departed that city, being about the fourth hour in the afternoon, and for want of accommodation were forced to walk on foot eight Engliſh miles to a town called Holton, where we reſted that night.

The next morning we ſet out for Weſel, and got thither at noon. The firſt thing we did (as had been our cuſtom) was to enquire who was worthy, particularly for two perſons recommended to us by the counteſs of Hornes, that lives with the princeſs Elizabeth. But upon enquiry, we found one of them was gone to Amſterdam with his wife, who had been formerly a preacher, and being conſcientiouſly diſſatiſfied with his own preaching, laid it down, and is now in a ſeeking ſtate. But in lieu of him we found out three more, with the other perſon that had been recommended to us. We beſpoke a meeting amongſt them after dinner, which accordingly we had at a woman's houſe of good note in the town; who told us, that ſhe had been long in a ſolitary eſtate, diſſatisfied with the religions generally profeſſed in that country, waiting for ſalvation, and ſhe hoped that now

the

the time was come, and that we were the meſſengers of it.

The Lord was with us in the meeting, and their hearts were opened, by the word of God, to receive our teſtimony as glad tidings of ſalvation. Meeting being done, we immediately returned to our lodgings, deſiring we might ſee them together in the ſame place the next morning, to take our leave of them, to which they readily aſſented.

Next morning[a] we came, and had a precious meeting with them; and there were ſome preſent that were not there the night before. So we left them in much love, and went to our inn; where, after having refreſhed ourſelves, we went to Rees, where we met with a counſellor of Gelderlandt, with whom we had a good opportunity to declare the teſtimony of Jeſus; who received it, and parted with us in much kindneſs.

From thence we went to Emrick, and there called upon an eminent Baptiſt teacher, recommended to us by one of Weſel: we ſpent ſome time with him, opening to him the way of life, as in the light it is manifeſted to all that love and obey the light; and of that more ſpiritual and pure miniſtry, that from the living word of God is received by many true miniſters in this day. The man was ſomewhat full of words, but we felt the living viſitation of the love of God reached to him, and ſo we left him, making all the haſte we could to get to Cleve that night; which accordingly we did, though late, being forced to walk one third part of the way on foot.

That night, notwithſtanding, one of us went to a certain lady, to whom we had recommendations from the princeſs, and that was particularly known to one of us, informing her that we were come to that city, deſiring to know what time next day we might give her a viſit; ſhe appointed eight in the morning.

[a] 5. 7. 4.

About that time[t] we went to ſee her; ſhe received us (conſidering her quality and courtſhip) far from any appearance of offence at our deportment. We told her our meſſage and viſit was to thoſe of that city, that had any inclinations or deſires, hunger or thirſt, after the true and living knowledge of God; for that end we had left our own country, and had wandered up and down in ſeveral parts of Germany. She told us, that ſome there were that ſearched after God; but ſhe feared the name of Quaker would make them ſhy, becauſe they were called Quakers themſelves, by people of the ſame profeſſion, only for being more ſerious and retired in their converſation.

We replied, that it was an honour to the name, that all ſobriety throughout Germany, was called by it; this ought to make the name leſs odious, yea, it will make the way eaſier for thoſe that are truly called ſo, or that are Quakers indeed: it will take off much of the wonder, and, it may be, of the ſeverity of the places, where we come, that the name is gone before us, and hath received a dwelling-place in their towns and cities. In fine, to all ſuch God hath committed to us the word of life to preach, and ſuch we ſeek out in all places where the Lord bringeth us: and hitherto we can ſay it, to the praiſe of our God, he hath vindicated our ſervices and teſtimony, by his own bleſſed power, ſhed abroad in their hearts to whom we have been ſent.

So ſhe told us ſhe would ſend for an attorney at law, one that was more than ordinarily eminent; having deſerted the church, and being therefore reproached with the name of Quaker.

In this interval we had cloſe diſcourſe with her; a woman certainly of great wit, high notions, and very ready utterance: ſo that it was hard for us to obtain a true ſilence; a ſtate in which we could reach to her.

But through ſome travail of ſpirit more than ordinary, we had a ſweet time of refreſhment, and the

[t] 6. 7. 5.

witneſs

witneſs was raiſed in her, and we really and plainly beheld a true nobility, yea, that which was ſenſible of our teſtimony, and did receive it.

By this time the perſon ſhe ſent for came, and a bleſſed ſweet time we had: for the power and preſence of the Lord, our ſtaff and ſtrength, unto which our eye hath been throughout all our travels, that we might only be acceptable in that, plenteouſly appeared amongſt us (the Lord have the glory of his own work) both confeſſing to the truth of what had been ſaid, and the attorney to the *living ſenſe* in which the truth had been declared.

We would have returned to our inn to eat, according as we had appointed in the morning, but ſhe laid a kind of violent hands upon us, and neceſſitated us to ſtay and eat with her; which we did. And we had no ſooner ſat down, but her brother-in-law, a man of quality and employment in the court of the elector of Brandenburgh, came in, who dined with us.

As we ſat at meat, we had a good meeting; for the time was much taken up about the things of God, either in anſwering their queſtions, or miniſtring to them about the true Chriſtian nature and life; in all which her brother behaved himſelf with great ſweetneſs and reſpect.

After dinner we took our Chriſtian leave of them in the fear of God, recommending unto them the light of Chriſt Jeſus, that brings all that receive it into the one ſpirit, to live in holy peace and concord together; particularly and alone ſpeaking to the lady and the attorney what was upon us as to their ſtates.

And ſo we departed, and ſoon after took waggon for Nimeguen; where arriving about the ſeventh hour that night, we immediately took waggon for Utrecht, and got thither about the tenth hour next morning." We heard there was a people in that city, but had not now time to viſit them, referring it to another opportunity.

" 7. 7. 6.

About the firſt hour in the afternoon, G. K. and B. F. took waggon for Rotterdam, and I took waggon for Amſterdam, where I came ſafely that night, about ſix in the evening; and I found friends generally well, though it was a ſickly time in that country. The meeting-houſe was much enlarged, and there was a freſh enquiry among many people after the truth, and great deſires to hear the teſtimony and declaration of it. I alſo underſtood that dear G. F. was returned from Frederickſtadt and Hamburgh into Urieſlandt, whither T. R. and J. Y. were gone from this city to meet with him. He had an hard time of travail with reſpect to the weather, yet I heard was in good health, through the Lord's power that had kept him.

Here I received a letter from the princeſs Elizabeth, in anſwer to mine of the 25th of the ſixth month, from Manheim, alias Frederickſburgh.

The $\frac{4}{14}$ of September, 1677.

Dear friend,

I Have received your greetings, good wiſhes, and exhortations, with much joy, and ſhall follow the latter ſo far as it ſhall pleaſe our great God to give me light and ſtrength. I can ſay little for myſelf, and can do nothing of myſelf, but I hope the Lord will conduct me in his time, by his way, to his end; and ſhall not ſhrink for his fire; I do long for it; and when he aſſures my ways, I hope he will give me power to bear the croſs I meet therein. I am alſo glad to hear the journey hath been proſperous both in the conſtitutions of your bodies, to withſtand the badneſs of the weather, and in the reception you had in Caſſel, Franckfort, and Criſheim: nothing ſurprized me there but the good old Dury, in whom I did not expect ſo much ingenuity, having lately writ a book, entitled, 'Le Veritable Chretien,' that doth ſpeak another way. I wiſh to know what reception you have had at Frederickſburgh; and if this find you at Cleve,

I wiſh

I wiſh you might take an occaſion to ſee the two paſtors of Mulheim, which do really ſeek the Lord, but have ſome prejudice againſt your doctrine, as alſo the counteſs there. It would be of much uſe for my family to have them diſabuſed; yet God's will be done in that, and all things elſe, concerning

Your loving friend in the Lord Jeſus,

ELIZABETH.

Let both your friends and companions receive my hearty commendations here.

This day at night[w] (being the ſeventh day of the week) came John Hill from Urieſlandt to the houſe of G. D. in Amſterdam.

The next day[x] (being the firſt day of the week) we had a bleſſed and large meeting, larger than ordinary, becauſe of a great addition of room ſince our journey into Germany. Indeed there was a great appearance of ſober profeſſing people, yea, ſeveral of the chief of the Baptiſts, as Galenus and companions: the Lord's heavenly power was over all, and the meeting bleſſedly ended about the fourth hour.

That night, after ſupper, having taken my leave in a ſweet little meeting among friends, I took boat for Horn (P. Hendrick accompanying me) about the ſeventh hour at night, and got thither about two in the morning;[y] where lying down till about ſix, we took waggon for Enckhuyſen. We came thither a little after eight in the morning; where having refreſhed ourſelves, about the ninth hour we took ſhip for Workum in Urieſlandt, and arriving about one, immediately took waggon for Harlingen, where we arrived about ſix; there we met with dear G. F. J. T. J. Y. T. R. J. C. and his wife.

[w] 8. 7. 7. [x] 9. 7. 1. [y] 10. 7. 2.

The next day* we had two bleſſed meetings; one amongſt friends, being the firſt monthly meeting that was ſettled for Urieſlandt, Groningen, and Embden; the other a publick meeting, where reſorted both Baptiſts, collegians and others; and among the reſt, a doctor of phyſick and a Preſbyterian miniſter: all ſat with great attention and ſobriety, but the miniſter and doctor more eſpecially. The firſt, having a lecture ſermon to preach that evening, went away; but, notwithſtanding, ſpeedily returned, G. F. ſtill ſpeaking: but, as a man in pain to be gone, yet willing to ſtay, ſat at the door till G. F. had done; and then ſtood up, and pulling off his hat, looking up to heaven, in a ſolemn manner, and with a loud voice, ſpake to this purpoſe: "The All-mighty, the All-"wiſe, the Omnipotent Great God, and his Son Jeſus "Chriſt, who is bleſſed for ever and ever, confirm "his word that hath been ſpoken this day:" apologizing that he could not longer ſtay, for that he was a miniſter of the reformed religion, and was juſt now going to preach, where all that would come ſhould be welcome; and ſo left the meeting.

The phyſician alſo was called away, but returned, and ſtayed till the meeting was ended. Juſt as the meeting ended came the miniſter again, who ſaid, in the hearing of ſome friends, 'That he had made his 'ſermon much ſhorter than ordinary, that he might 'enjoy the reſt of the meeting.' At night came the phyſician to ſee me; who, after a ſerious and Chriſtian diſcourſe, expreſſing great ſatisfaction in moſt things relating to friends, left me; withal telling me, 'That 'if I had not been to go the fourth hour next morn-'ing, he would either have ſtayed longer with me, or 'come again.'

He alſo remembered the parſon's love to us, and told me, 'That if it had not been for fear of giving 'offence, or coming too much under the obſervation 'of the people, he would have come to have ſeen

* 11, 7, 3.

'us;'

'us:' adding, 'That it was a great pity that this 'people had not printed their principles to the world:' to which the doctor anſwered, 'That he had ſome of 'our books, and he would lend him them.' Bleſſed be the Lord, his glorious work goeth on, and his power is over all. It being now the tenth hour at night, I took my leave of G. F. and friends.

This day it came upon me to write a letter to Joanna Eleonora Malane, the noble young woman at Franckfort.

Dear friend, J. E. M.

MY dear and tender love, which God hath raiſed in my heart by his living word to all mankind, but more eſpecially unto thoſe in whom he hath begotten an holy hunger and thirſt after him, ſaluteth thee: and amongſt thoſe of that place where thou liveſt, the remembrance of thee, with thy companions, is moſt particularly and eminently at this time brought before me. And the ſenſe of your open-heartedneſs, ſimplicity, and ſincere love to the teſtimony of Jeſus, that by us was delivered unto you, hath deeply engaged my heart towards you, and often raiſed in my ſoul heavenly breathings to the God of my life, that he would keep you in the daily ſenſe of that divine life, which then affected you. For this know, it was the life in *yourſelves*, that ſo ſweetly viſited you by the miniſtry of life through *us*.

Wherefore, love the divine life and light in yourſelves: be retired and ſtill; let that holy ſeed move in all heavenly things before you move: for no one receiveth any thing (that truly profiteth) but what he receiveth from *above*. Thus ſaid John to his diſciples. Now that which ſtirreth in your hearts, draweth you out of the world, ſlayeth you to all the vain-glory, and pleaſure, and empty worſhips that are in it; this is from *above*, the heavenly ſeed of God, pure and incorruptible, that is come down from heaven to make you heavenly; that in heavenly places you may dwell,

and witneſs, with the ſaints of old, this heavenly treaſure in earthen veſſels.

O ſtay your minds upon the appearance of Jeſus in you, in whoſe light you ſhall ſee light! It will make you of a weighty conſidering ſpirit more and more; that you may ſee how the myſtery of iniquity hath wrought, and how mankind is corrupted in all things, and what part you yet have, that belongeth not to the paradiſe of God, that you may lay it all down at the feet of Jeſus, and follow him, who is going up and down, doing good to all that believe in his name. So poſſeſs your ſouls in the ſenſible feeling of his daily viſits, ſhinings and breathings upon your ſpirits; and wait diligently, and watch circumſpectly, leſt the enemy ſurprize you, or your Lord come at unawares upon you, and you be unprepared to receive his ſweet and precious viſitations. That ſo thoſe holy beginnings, which thou art a witneſs of, with thy companions, may not be loſt, or as if they had never been; but that you may, from day to day, feel the growth of his light, life, power, and kingdom in your ſouls, that you may be able to ſay, "The kingdom of God "is come, yea, it is given to the ſaints."

And what I ſay unto one, I ſay unto all that received our teſtimony in that city; to whom thou mayeſt give, if thou pleaſeſt, the remembrance of my dear love, who travail in the ſpirit for their redemption, that they may be brought into the glorious liberty of the ſons of God. Particularly ſalute me to the young woman, that met with us at thy lodging. The Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the Prince of peace, dwell amongſt you, keep your hearts ſtedfaſt in his holy light, without wavering, all the days of your appointed time, until your great and laſt change ſhall come; when he will receive his own ſheep into his own everlaſting kingdom, from the power of the foxes and the wolves, and all the devouring beaſts and birds of prey; when he will wipe away all tears from their eyes, and ſighing and ſorrowing ſhall be no more; and when it ſhall

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be ſaid, "There is no more death, no more night, no "more time."

So dear J. E. M. know, that the Lord hath brought us well to Amſterdam, not without good ſervice by the way: for at Cullen we had a precious meeting, and were received with much gladneſs of heart. We alſo went to Duyſburg, and from thence towards Mulheim, being the firſt day of the week, hoping to get an opportunity with the counteſs of Bruch, and to deliver thy letter: but her father (who is a cruel and ſevere man) meeting us near his caſtle, ſtopped us; and after ſome little time, finding what we were, ſaid, 'There wanted no Quakers there;' and ſent us with ſome of his ſoldiers out of his territory. It was about ſun-ſet, ſo that we were forced to return towards Duyſburg, but the gates of the city being ſhut, and there being no houſes without it, we were forced to lie in the fields all night, where the Lord made us a good and comfortable bed. We told the graef at parting, 'We were men that feared the Almighty 'God; we deſired the good of all men; and that we 'came not hither for any evil deſign:' but he would not hear; the Lord, if he pleaſeth, forgive him. Nevertheleſs we had a good meeting at Duyſburg, where we had our hearts deſire, the bleſſed power and life of God making its own way in the hearts of thoſe that heard our teſtimony. I alſo writ a large and tender letter to the counteſs, and received a ſweet and loving meſſage from her: and I have great hopes that all things will work together for the beſt.

From Duyſburg we went to Weſel, where we enquired out who was worthy, and there we found four or five ſeparated from all congregations, "waiting for "the Conſolation of Iſrael," with whom we had two precious meetings: and leaving the peace of Jeſus with them, went to Emrick, where we viſited the chief Baptiſt teacher, who confeſſed to our teſtimony, and received us lovingly. We directed them to that gift of God in himſelf, that pure and eternal word in the heart, that he might know the pure miniſtry of that,

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from the miniſtry of man's ſpirit, which cannot profit or give life to the ſoul.

From thence we went to Cleve, where at a lady's houſe, belonging to the court, we had a precious meeting: and we found ſome that had deſerted the publick miniſtry, as not being appointed of God to preach, neither knowing, by true experience, the way and travail of the new birth, but made and maintained by men: we ſounded the joyful goſpel amongſt them, and from thence, by the way of Nimeguen and Utrecht, we came the laſt ſixth day to Amſterdam, which was the ſeventh of the ſeventh month.

This laſt firſt-day I had a great and bleſſed meeting at Amſterdam, almoſt of every quality and religion; the Lord's heavenly power (that is quickening people into a living ſenſe of him, that they may ſay, "the Lord liveth, and he liveth in me") reigned that day over all.

In the evening I took boat for Horn, and from thence came laſt night (being the ſecond day of the week) to this city of Harlingen, where we met with ſome of our brethren, that had been up at Hamburgh and Frederickſtadt; and this day we are to have two meetings here, the one among our friends, the other publick for the town. It is upon me to viſit J. de Labadie's people, that they may know HIM in themſelves, in whom their ſalvation ſtandeth: for theſe ſimple people are to be pitied. From thence I think to viſit Leeuwaerden, Groningen, Embden, Bremen, Herwerden, Weſel, Emrick, Cleve, Utrecht, and ſo to return to Amſterdam, the Lord enabling me by his power.

This ariſeth in my heart to thee; 'Give not thy 'bread to dogs; ſpend not thy portion; feed not the 'ſerpent, neither hearken to him: abide with Jeſus, 'and he will abide with thee, that thou mayeſt grow 'in wiſdom and in righteouſneſs, through the croſs, 'that crucifieth thee to the world, and the world to 'thee.' So in the love which overcometh the world, that is divine, and from above, and leadeth all thither that

that receive it into their hearts, I take my leave of thee, with thy companions, and all the reſt of that city known to us, remaining

Thy faithful friend, and the Lord's day-labourer, W. P.

Harlingen, 11th of the 7th month, 1677.

Next morning,[a] about the fourth hour, I took boat for Leeuwaerden; J. Claus, who had been at Frederickſtadt with G. F. went with me. G. F. J. Y. and T. R. with P. H. returned that day towards Amſterdam.

At Leeuwaerden we came about nine, and began the meeting about ten; which we enjoyed with peace and refreſhment, ſeveral being there (as in other places) that were never at a meeting before.

The meeting being done, and having refreſhed ourſelves with food, we took waggon for Wiewart, the manſion-houſe of the family of the Somerdykes, where J. de Labadie's company reſideth, it being ſtrong upon my ſpirit to give them a viſit. We got thither about five; and as we were walking over a field to the houſe, we met a young man of that company, who conducted us in. I aſked for Ivon the paſtor, and Anna Maria Schurmans. Ivon preſently came with his co-paſtor; they received us very civilly. However, they ſeemed ſhy of letting me ſpeak with A. M. S. objecting her weakneſs, age, taking phyſick, &c. But putting them in mind how unhandſomely I was uſed at Herwerden ſix years ago, by J. de Labadie, their father, who, though I came a great journey to viſit him and his people, ſuffered me not to ſpeak with them; they preſently complied, and went in to let her know that ſuch a perſon deſired to ſpeak with her, and quickly returned, deſiring me to come in. But foreſeeing my time would be too ſhort for

[a] 12. 7. 4.

my

my meſſage, the ſun being near ſetting, and having two Engliſh miles of unknown way to our lodging, on foot, I deſired them, that they would give me an opportunity the next morning, which they readily complied with. So I took my leave of them, who in a friendly manner brought us a little on our way. That night a great weight was upon my ſpirit, and eſpecially the next morning; yet my faith was in the power of God, and I had a plain ſight that I ſhould have a good ſervice among them; however, I ſhould clear my conſcience, and my peace ſhould reſt with me.

The next morning [b] I returned to them, and J. C. along with me. So ſoon as we came, we were brought into A. M. S's. chamber; where alſo was with her one of the three Somerdykes.

This A. M. S. aforeſaid, is an ancient maid, above ſixty years of age, of great note and fame for learning in languages and philoſophy, and hath obtained a conſiderable place among the moſt learned men of this age. The Somerdykes are daughters to a nobleman of the Hague, people of great breeding and inheritances. Theſe, with ſeveral other perſons, being affected with the zealous declamation of J. de Labadie, againſt the dead and formal churches of the world, and awakened to ſeek after a more ſpiritual fellowſhip and ſociety, ſeparated themſelves from the common Calviniſt churches, and followed him in the way of a refined Independency.

They are a ſerious, plain people, and are come nearer to friends, as in ſilence in meetings, women-ſpeaking, preaching by the Spirit, plainneſs in garb, and furniture in their houſes. With theſe two we had the company of the two paſtors, and a doctor of phyſick. After ſome ſilence, I propoſed this queſtion to them: 'What was it that induced them to ſeparate 'from the common way they formerly lived in? I de-'ſired them that they would be pleaſed to be plain

[b] 13. 7. 1.

'and

'and open with me, as to the ground of their sepa-
'ration; for I came not to cavil, but in a Christian
'spirit to be informed.

Upon this, Ivon, the chief pastor, gave us the history of J. de Labadie's education; how he was bred among the Jesuits, and deserted them, and embraced the Protestant religion; and finally, of his great dissatisfaction with the Protestant churches of France, and that if God would not give them a purer church, they three would sit down by themselves, resolving never more to mix themselves among the Babylonish assemblies of the world. Adding several solemn appeals concerning the simplicity and integrity of their hearts in these things.

Ivon having done, A. M. S. began in this manner: 'I find myself constrained to add a short testimony. 'She told us of her former life, of her pleasure in 'learning, and her love to the religion she was brought 'up in; but confessed she knew not God nor Christ 'truly all that while. And though from a child God 'had visited her at times, yet she never felt such a 'powerful stroke, as by the ministry of J. de Labadie. 'She saw her learning to be vanity, and her religion 'like a body of death: she resolved to despise the 'shame, desert her former way of living and acquaint-'ance, and to join herself with this little family, that 'was retired out of the world, among whom she de-'sired to be found a living sacrifice, offered up en-'tirely to the Lord. She spoke in a very serious and broken sense, not without *some trembling*. These are but short hints of what she said.

After she had done, one of the Somerdykes began, in a very reverent and weighty frame of mind, and in a sense that very well suited her contempt of the world: she told us how often she had mourned from her young years, because she did not know the Lord as she desired; often saying within herself, 'If God 'would make known to me his way, I would tram-'ple upon all the pride and glory of the world.' She earnestly expressed the frequent anguish of spirit she had,

had, becauſe of the deadneſs and formality of the Chriſtians ſhe was bred among, ſaying to herſelf, 'O 'the pride, O the luſts, O the vain pleaſures in which 'Chriſtians live! Can this be the way to heaven? Is 'this the way to glory? Are theſe followers of Chriſt? 'O no! O God, where is thy little flock? Where is 'thy little family that will live entirely to thee, that 'will follow thee? Make me one of that number. 'And when the ſervant of the Lord, J. de Labadie, 'came into Holland, I, among others, had a curio-'ſity to hear him; and among ſeveral others was 'deeply affected by him. He ſpoke the very thoughts 'of my heart: methought my heart was pricked when 'I heard him; and I reſolved, by the grace of God, 'to abandon all the glory and pride of this world, 'to be one of thoſe that ſhould ſit down with him in 'a ſeparation from the vain and dead worſhips of 'this world. I count myſelf happy that I ever met 'with him, and theſe paſtors, who ſeek not them-'ſelves, but the Lord: and we are a family that live 'together in love; of one ſoul and one ſpirit, entirely 'given up to ſerve the Lord; and this is the greateſt 'joy in the world.'

After, Du Lignon, the other paſtor, gave us alſo an account of his inducement to embrace J. de Labadie, but not ſo livelily.

After him the doctor of phyſick, that had been bred for a prieſt, but voluntarily refuſed that calling, expreſſed himſelf after this manner: 'I can alſo bear 'my teſtimony, in the preſence of God, that though 'I lived in as much reputation at the univerſity, as 'any of my colleagues or companions, and was well 'reputed for ſobriety and honeſty, yet I never felt 'ſuch a living ſenſe of God, as when I heard the ſer-'vant of the Lord J. de Labadie:' adding, 'The 'firſt day I heard him, I was ſo ſtruck and affected, 'that I can truly ſay, through the good grace of God, 'and the conduct of the Holy Spirit, it was to me as 'the day of my ſalvation; he did ſo livingly touch 'my heart with a ſenſe of the true Chriſtian worſhip:

'upon

'upon which I forſook the univerſity, and reſolved to 'be one of this family; and this I can ſay in the fear 'of the Lord.'

P. Ivon concluded, 'This is what we have to ſay 'concerning the work of God amongſt us.'

All this while I minded not ſo much their words, as I felt and had unity with a meaſure of divine ſenſe that was upon them. Certainly the Lord hath been amongſt them; yea, I had a living ſenſe in my heart that ſomewhat of the breath of life had breathed upon them; and though they were in great mixtures, yet that God's love was towards them.

After ſome ſilence, I began on this wiſe:

I come not to judge you, but to viſit you; not to quarrel or diſpute, but to ſpeak of the things of God's kingdom; and I have no prejudice, but great love and regard in my heart towards you: wherefore hear me with Chriſtian patience and tenderneſs.

I do confeſs and believe that God hath touched your hearts with his divine finger, and that his work is amongſt you: that it was his Spirit that gave you a ſight of the vanity and folly of this world, and that hath made you ſenſible of the dead religions that are in it. It is this ſenſe I love and honour; and I am ſo far from undervaluing or oppoſing this tender ſenſe I feel upon you, that this it is I am come to viſit, and you for the love of it. And as for the reproaches that may attend you on the ſcore of your ſeparation, with all the reports that therefore go concerning you, they are what I reſpect you for, being well acquainted with the nature and practice of this world towards thoſe that retire out of it.

Now ſince I have with patience, and I can truly ſay with great ſatisfaction, heard your account of your experiences, give me the like Chriſtian freedom to tell you mine, to the end you may have ſome ſenſe of the work of God in *me*: for thoſe who are come to any meaſure of a divine ſenſe, they are as looking-glaſſes to each other, as face anſwereth face in a glaſs.

Here

Here I began to let them know how, and when, the Lord firſt appeared unto me, which was about the twelfth year of my age, anno 1656. How at times, betwixt that and the fifteenth, the Lord viſited me, and the divine impreſſions he gave me of himſelf: of my perſecution at Oxford, and how the Lord ſuſtained me in the midſt of that helliſh darkneſs and debauchery: of my being baniſhed the college; the bitter uſage I underwent when I returned to my father; whipping, beating, and turning out of doors in 1662. Of the Lord's dealings with me in France, and in the time of the great plague in London. In fine, the deep ſenſe he gave me of the vanity of this world; of the *irreligiouſneſs* of the religions of it. Then of my mournful and bitter cries to him, that he would ſhew me his own way of life and ſalvation, and my reſolutions to follow him, whatever reproaches or ſufferings ſhould attend me, and that with great reverence and brokenneſs of ſpirit. How, after all this, the glory of the world *overtook* me, and I was even ready to give up myſelf unto it, ſeeing as yet no ſuch thing as the 'primitive ſpirit and church on the 'earth;' and being ready to faint concerning my 'hope of the reſtitution of all things.'

It was at this time that the Lord viſited me with a certain ſound and teſtimony of his eternal word, through one of thoſe the world calls *Quakers*, namely Thomas Lob. I related to them the bitter mockings and ſcornings that fell upon me, the diſpleaſure of my parents, the invectiveneſs and cruelty of the prieſts, the ſtrangeneſs of all my companions: what a ſign and wonder they made of me; but, above all, that great croſs of reſiſting and watching againſt mine own inward vain affections and thoughts.

Here I had a fine opportunity to ſpeak of the myſtery of iniquity and ungodlineſs in the root and ground, and to give them an account of the power and preſence of God which attended us in our publick teſtimonies and ſufferings; after an indirect manner cenſuring their weakneſſes, by declaring and commending

mending the contrary practices among friends, too large to be here related. And notwithstanding all my sufferings and trials by magistrates, parents, companions, and, above all, from the priests of the false religions in the world, the Lord hath preserved me to this day, and hath given me an hundred fold in this world, as well as the assurance of life everlasting: informing them of the tenderness of my father to me, before, and at, his death; and how, through patience and long-suffering, all opposition was conquered. Then I began my exhortation unto them, which was on this wise.

That since God had given me and them a divine sense of him, our eye should be to him, not to man; that we might come more into a silence of ourselves, and a growth into that heavenly sense. That this was the work of the true ministry, not to keep people to *themselves*, ever teaching them, but to turn them to God, the new-covenant Teacher, and to Christ, the great Gospel-Minister. Thus John did, and thought it no dishonour that they left *him* to go to *Christ*." "Behold the Lamb of God," said he, "that taketh "away the sin of the world!" And even John's disciples left him to follow Christ. Nay, John testifies of himself, "That *he* was to "*decrease*," and Christ was to *increase*. Wherefore I pressed them to have their eye to Christ that taketh away the sin; that is, from heaven, heavenly; to see that He increase in them. Yea, "that henceforth they should know no man after "the *flesh*; no, not Christ himself." That their knowledge of, and regard and fellowship with, one another, should stand in the revelation of the Son of God in them; who is God's Great Prophet, by whom God speaketh in these latter days. And if their ministers be true ministers, they will count it their glory to give way to Christ, and that they decrease, and Christ increase; that the instrument giveth way to him that useth it, the servant to the Lord. Which, though it seemeth to detract from the ministers, yet it was, and is, the glory of a true minister, that God and Christ

ſhould be *all in all*, and that his will ſhould be fulfilled. For I told them, "The day of the Lord God "was come," and all people muſt look to him for ſalvation: that all people muſt now come to keep God's great *ſabbath*, to reſt from *mere man*, and the ſpirit of man, and all mens thoughts, words, and works; and that if they were true believers, they were, at leaſt, "*entering* into their reſt."

I cloſely recommended it to them, that they might not be of thoſe that begin in the ſpirit, and end in the fleſh; for that thoſe that ſhould do ſo, and thereby break God's ſabbath-day, would be ſtoned to death, by the "ſtone which is cut out of the moun-"tain without hands;" yea, that ſhould fall upon them as a mill-ſtone, and grind them to powder. Therefore let CHRIST have his honour; let *him* preach and ſpeak *among* you, and *in you*, and you in *him*; and by *him only* ſigh, groan, pray, preach, ſing, and not otherwiſe, leſt death come over you: for thereby the apoſtacy came in, by their going before *Chriſt*, inſtead of Chriſt going before *them*.

And wait in the light and ſpirit of judgment that hath viſited you, that all may be wrought out that is not born of God; ſo will you come to be born of the incorruptible ſeed, of the word of God that liveth and abideth for ever: that you may be an holy prieſthood, that offers up a living ſacrifice with God's heavenly fire, that God may have his honour in you all, and through all, by Jeſus Chriſt. And turning myſelf towards the Somerdykes, with a ſerious and tender ſpirit, I thus expreſſed myſelf: 'That you 'ſhould be pilgrims in the inheritance of your Father, 'I have a deep and reverent ſenſe of: O that you 'might dwell with him for ever, and exalt him that 'hath ſo viſited you, with whom are the rewards of 'eternal bleſſedneſs.'

So I left the bleſſing and peace of Jeſus among them, departing in the love and peace of God: and I muſt needs ſay they were, beyond expectation, tender and reſpectful to us: all of them coming with us, except

except the ancient A. M. S. (who is not able to walk) to the outward door; giving us their hands in a friendly manner, expreſſing their great ſatisfaction in our viſit. And being come to the porch, and meeting ſeveral perſons of the family, I was moved to turn about and exhort them, in the preſence of the reſt, to keep to *Chriſt*, that had given them a ſenſe of the ſpirit of this world, and had raiſed deſires in them to be delivered from it! And to know no man after the fleſh, but to have their fellowſhip in *Chriſt*, union and communion with *God*, and one with another; that all their worſhip and performances might ſtand in *him*, that *he* might be *all in all*: deſiring that the Lord might keep them in his fear all the days of their appointed time, that ſo they might ſerve him in their generation, in his own univerſal Spirit, to his glory, who is bleſſed for ever.

The Lord comforted my ſoul in this ſervice: yea, all that is within me magnified his holy name, becauſe of his bleſſed preſence that was with us! O let my ſoul truſt in the Lord, and confide in him for ever! O let me dwell and abide with him that is faithful and true, and bleſſed for evermore!

The two paſtors and the doctor came with us a field's length, where we took waggon; and the chief of them took occaſion to aſk me, 'If the truth roſe 'not at firſt amongſt a *poor*, *illiterate*, and *ſimple* ſort 'of people?' I told him, Yes; that was our comfort, and that we owed it not to the learning of this world: 'Then,' ſaid he, 'Let not the learning of this world 'be uſed to defend that which the Spirit of God hath 'brought forth; for ſcholars now coming among you, 'will be apt to mix ſchool-learning amongſt your 'ſimpler and purer language, and thereby obſcure the 'brightneſs of the teſtimony.' I told him, it was good for us all to have a care of our own ſpirits, words and works; confeſſing what he ſaid had weight in it; telling him, it was our care to write and ſpeak according to the divine ſenſe, and not human invention.

So in a very ſober and ſerious manner we parted, being about the twelfth hour at noon.

This night about ten we got to Lippenhuſen, where there is a little meeting of friends, being about 25 Engliſh miles.

The next morning[c] we had a bleſſed meeting among friends; many of the world came in, were very ſerious and well affected; one whereof was a magiſtrate of the place. The Lord pleads his own cauſe, and crowns his own teſtimony with his own power. There is like to be a fine gathering in that place.

After dinner we took waggon for the city of Groningen, where we arrived at eight at night, being about 25 Engliſh miles.

The next morning[d] we had a meeting among friends of that city, whither reſorted both collegian and Calviniſt ſtudents, who behaved themſelves ſoberly: the Lord's power was over all, and his teſtimony ſtands. When meeting was ended, they went out; and as I was concluding an exhortation to friends, came in a flock of ſtudents to have had ſome conference with us: but having ſet the time of our leaving the city, we recommended them to the univerſal love of God, promiſing them ſome books of our principles, with which they expreſſed themſelves ſatisfied, and civilly parted from us.

After dinner we took boat for Delfzyl, and came thither about ſix at night. The next morning[e] about ſeven, we took boat for Embden, which is about three leagues. On board of that veſſel it came upon me to write a letter to friends in England, concerning the preſent ſeparatiſts, and their ſpirit of ſeparation, which had ſeveral times been opened unto me, and had remained ſome days upon my ſpirit. The letter followeth.

[c] 14. 7. 6. [d] 15. 7. 7. [e] 16. 7. 1.

To

To friends every where, concerning the preſent ſeparatiſts, and their ſpirit of ſeparation.

Friends and brethren,

BY a mighty hand, and by an out-ſtretched arm, hath the Lord God everlaſting gathered us to be a people, and in his own power and life hath he preſerved us a people unto this day: and praiſes be to his eternal name, no weapon that hath yet been formed againſt us, either from without, or from within, hath proſpered.

Now this I ſay unto you, and that in his counſel that hath viſited us; Whoever go out of the unity with their brethren, are firſt gone out of unity with the power and life of God in themſelves, in which the unity of the brethren ſtandeth; and the leaſt member of the body in the unity ſtandeth on the top of them, and hath a judgment againſt them; unto which judgment, of both great and ſmall amongſt the living family that in the unity are preſerved, they muſt bow, before they can come into the unity again: yea, this they will readily do, if they are come into unity with the life and power of God in themſelves; which is the holy root that beareth the tree, the fruit, and the leaves; all receiving life and virtue from it, and thereby are nouriſhed unto God's praiſe.

And let all have a care how they weaken that, or bring that under the exaltation and high imagination of thoſe that it is revealed againſt. For I feel that unruly ſpirit is tormented under the ſtroke and judgment of the power, and in its ſubtlety is ſeeking occaſion againſt the inſtruments, by whom the power gave it forth. Let all have a care how they touch with this ſpirit in thoſe workings; for by being one with this ſpirit in judging thoſe that have been faithful, according to the gift of wiſdom they have received from God, they will feed it and fortify it, and in the end come to be one with it againſt the

power itſelf, and at laſt run out, and become open enemies and deſpiſers; for whom is reſerved the blackneſs and darkneſs for ever, unleſs they repent.

Wherefore all that labour for the reſtoration of thoſe that are out of the unity with the brethren, let them be ſuch as are of a ſound mind themſelves: elſe, what will they gather to? Or, what will they gather from? And let them labour in the ſimplicity, integrity, love, and zeal of the power that firſt gathered us to God. For that which is rightly gotten will endure; but that which is obtained by the contrivance, intereſt, and perſuaſions of men, getteth no farther than man, and is of the fleſh; and what is of the fleſh, is fleſhly, and ſhall never inherit the kingdom of God.

Therefore let none look out of the ſeed for help; for all power is in it, and there the true light and judgment ſtands for ever; and that ſeed only hath God ordained to bruiſe the ſerpent's head. They that would ſave it, and thoſe that would bruiſe it by any other thing, are breakers of God's great ordinance, and fly to *Egypt* for ſtrength. For it is *David*, the ſtripling, that ſhall be too hard for *Goliah* the giant; and that not by "Saul's armour," but with "God's "living little ſtone, cut out of the mountain without "hands;" without man's invention and contrivance. Oh, this hath wrought all our mighty works in us, and for us, to this day! Wherefore let us be ſtill, and truſt and confide therein for ever. Let none look back, faint, or conſult; for if they do, they will darken their pure eye, and loſe their way, and into the eternal reſt of the flocks of the companions will never come.

Brethren; the judgment given forth againſt this ſpirit, and all thoſe that have reſiſted our love and forbearance that are joined to it, muſt *ſtand*; and all that are out of our unity with the judgment, are *judged* by it: therefore as all would ſtand before the Lord, and his people, let not this ſpirit be reaſoned withal; enter not into propoſals and articles with it, but

but feed it with judgment, that is God's decree: ſo may the ſouls that are deceived, come by the right door into the heavenly unity.

My brethren, look forwards, and lift up your eyes, for the fields are even white unto harveſt, up and down the nations. Remember the great name of the Lord, and behold the great work that he is doing before all people; whoſe ſaving health is viſiting the world, and whoſe eternal word and teſtament muſt from among us go forth to gather the nations. "Let *that* that "will be unjuſt, be unjuſt ſtill; let the dead bury "the dead:" let us all, who have received the gift from God, wait in deep humility, to be raiſed up and impowered by him more and more, to eye and proſecute his univerſal ſervice in the world, to whoſe appearance the kings and kingdoms of the Gentiles ſhall bring their glory: which noble work had thoſe that are gone into the ſeparation but laid deeply to heart, they would never have ſat at home murmuring, fretting, and quarrelling againſt the comely and godly order and practice of their brethren: but love, peace, and joy had filled their hearts, and not the "troubler and "accuſer of the brethren;" who hath opened an evil eye in them, and begotten them into a diſcontented ſelf-ſeparating mind; and this image they bear, and the pure eye ſees it.

O let none tempt the Lord! let none provoke the eyes of his jealouſy: let us all dwell in that divine ſenſe that he hath begotten in us; where our love, as a freſh and pure ſtream, will always flow to God and to one another. Here "all his ways are pleaſantneſs, "and all his paths are peace;" for where *he* keepeth the houſe, who is Prince of peace, he will keep all in his heavenly peace. We are but as one family, and therefore we have but one Lord and Maſter. We are but as one flock, and we have but one heavenly ſhepherd to hear, who goeth before us, and giveth us eternal life to follow him. If any are offended in *him*, or in *his*, it is their own fault: if they faint and

grow weary, we are truly ſorry: if, through unwatchfulneſs, the enemy hath entered, and begotten coldneſs to the brethren, and careleſſneſs of embracing the opportunities by which the unity is renewed and increaſed; ſo that what is done by the brethren without them, is looked upon firſt with a *ſlight* eye, and then with an *evil* eye, which begets *diſtance*, and this diſtance, in time, a *ſeparation*; and ſeparation continued bringeth forth enmity, and this enmity *death itſelf*; we are in our ſpirits truly grieved for them. However, the judgment of God muſt ſtand againſt them, and that ſpirit that leadeth them, in which they gather not to God, but to themſelves: and wo to them that ſtrengthen their hands, and deſpiſe counſel; they will have much to anſwer for before the Lord. I feel a ſlighting, ſcornful, laughing ſpirit often flying at me with its venomous ſting; but the ſeed of life is over it, and the Lord God will deſtroy it.

Wherefore, friends, in all places where this ſpirit hath had entrance, keep ſound judgment upon it, if you will keep your garments clean: and enter not into diſputes and conteſts with it; it is that it ſeeketh and loveth: but go on in your teſtimony and buſineſs for the Lord, in the Lord's peaceable power and ſpirit, and his bleſſing and preſence of life ſhall be with you; and in multiplying he ſhall multiply you; for no good thing will he with-hold from you. We can ſay it of a truth, "God is good to Iſrael, and to all that are "of an upright heart." And let us be of good cheer; for it is God's determination, that "the houſe of "David ſhould grow ſtronger and ſtronger," and "*His* branch ſhall increaſe and ſpread, and of *his* go-"vernment, kingdom, and dominion there ſhall be "no end."

Your faithful friend and brother, in the ſervice of our dear Lord,

W. P.

God's

God's bleſſed work increaſeth and proſpereth in theſe lands; magnified be his everlaſting name.

From on board the paſſage-boat between Delfzyl and Embden, the 16th of the ſeventh month, 1677.

We arrived at Embden about the 11th hour: this is the city where friends have been ſo bitterly and barbarouſly uſed, the like hath ſcarcely been known in any place where truth hath broke forth in our day; they having here been baniſhed ſome 30, and ſome 40 times and above. The firſt family that received truth in this city, was doctor John William Haeſbert, a phyſician, and his wife; at whoſe houſe alſo the firſt meeting was ſet up among friends to wait upon the Lord, by way of publick teſtimony. They are now both dead, but the memory of their fidelity is as precious ointment among the righteous.

They were with me at a meeting ſix years ago, in this city; and I remember the power of the Lord had that operation upon them, that I ſaid to B. F. and T. R. then with me, 'It will not be long before they 'will publickly own and bear teſtimony in this place:' and about three months after, he came forth, and ſhe about a year after him. And from their fidelity and integrity, notwithſtanding all the ſore and bitter tempeſt of perſecution, a fine meeting ſprang; but at this day they are ſcattered, being ſtill ſent away as faſt as they return.

We viſited his mother's family, where we found three of his ſiſters in the love of truth; his fourth ſiſter being alſo a friend, and is wife of J. C. living at Amſterdam. We had a little ſweet comfortable meeting with them. After it, I returned to my lodging; and as I was writing to doctor Andrews, preſident of the council of ſtate, (who is reported to have been the author of this cruelty to our friends) a burden came upon me; my writing would not ſerve turn; I muſt go myſelf, in the fear and name of the Lord, to plead the

the innocent and ſuffering cauſe of our friends with him.

So away we went to his houſe: he was at firſt aſtoniſhed to ſee what manner of men we were; but after a little time he comported himſelf with more kindneſs than we expected at his hand. I aſked him, 'If he 'and the ſenate had not received a letter in Latin 'from an Engliſhman about two years ſince, concern-'ing their ſeverity towards the people called Quakers?' He told me he had. I replied, 'I was the man, and 'I was conſtrained in conſcience to viſit him on their 'behalf; and I could not ſee how he, being a com-'monwealth's man, and a Proteſtant, could perſe-'cute.'

I pleaded the unnaturalneſs, the unchriſtianity, and imprudence of ſuch proceedings, and preſſed our reaſons earneſtly, but tenderly upon him. He aſſaulted us with ſeveral objections; but, bleſſed be the Lord, they were moſtly fictitious, and therefore eaſily removed and anſwered. He alſo promiſed me, that if I would write to the ſenate a remonſtrance of the caſe of our friends, and expreſs my requeſt to them, and incloſe it to him, he would both preſent it, and get it to be read, and make it appear that he was not ſo much our enemy as we looked upon him to be. I promiſed to ſend him ſome books containing a defence of our principles, which were accordingly put into the hands of Elizabeth Haeſbert, to deliver him in my name.

Having taken our leave of the old woman and her daughters, and a man-friend reſiding in that city, and left the bleſſing and peace of our God amongſt them, we took ſhip for Lier, where we arrived the next morning.[f] Thence we took waggon for Bremen, where we came ſafe, through the Lord's goodneſs, the next day;[g] where we met our friends and companions, G. K. and B. F. who came thither ſome hours before us from Amſterdam. In this city there is a work of

[f] 17. 7. 2. [g] 18. 7. 3.

the

the Lord begun, though yet obſcurely: we had a travail upon our ſpirits, that the bleſſed and precious truth of our dear Lord and Maſter might find a place to reſt its foot upon.

To that purpoſe we wrote to two miniſters,[h] under ſome ſuffering from their brethren, becauſe of their great zeal againſt the formality and deadneſs of the, ſo called, reformed churches. This we ſent by a merchant, whom we formerly met at Herwerden. With ſome difficulty we got to them, but the perſon chiefly ſtruck at was ſhy to ſpeak with us: his reaſon was this: 'It was known that we were in town; and it was 'one of the accuſations againſt him, that he was a 'foſterer of all the ſtrange religions that came through 'the town. Alſo he was then actually under proceſs; 'and that the people that had heard of the innocency 'of his cauſe, conceived a prejudice againſt our 'name, though it might be without cauſe: therefore 'he could not at preſent confer with us, and ſaid, he 'was ſorry for it with all his heart; but what we 'ſhould ſay to his brother, ſhould be the ſame as if 'it had been ſaid to him; to whom he referred us.'

However, I took hold of his arm, and ſaid, I have this meſſage to deliver to thee, that I may diſburden myſelf before the Lord; which was this: 'Mind that 'which hath touched thy heart; let that guide thee; 'and do not thou order *that*: conſult not with fleſh 'and blood how to maintain that cauſe, which fleſh 'and blood in thy enemies perſecuteth thee *for*.' He anſwered, 'Rather than I will betray that cauſe, or 'deſert Chriſt, by God's ſtrength, they ſhall pull my 'fleſh off my bones.' So he left us in his houſe; and truly we had a good time with his companion, the other miniſter, about three hours, teſtifying unto him, That the day was come, and coming, in which the Lord would gather out of all ſects (that ſtand in the oldneſs of the letter) into his own Holy Spirit, life,

[h] 19. 7. 4.

and

and power; and that in this the unity of faith and bond of peace ſhould ſtand. And therefore that he, and all of them, ſhould have an eye to the principle of God in themſelves; that being turned *to* it, they might ſpeak *from* it; and that therein they would glorify God, and be edified. So we parted, leaving the man in a ſenſible and ſavoury frame. We viſited the merchant twice, and had a very good time with him: the man is of a loving and ſenſible ſpirit, and the love of God opened our hearts to him.

We alſo viſited doctor Johan Sophrony Cozack, an odd compoſitum of a man. He has had great and ſtrange openings; he hath writ ſeveral ſcores of tracts; he is a great enemy to the prieſts, and in ſociety with none; of a merry, yet of a rough diſpoſition; without any method or decency in his clothes, food, furniture, and entertainment. He wants but three of fourſcore, yet of a wonderful vigour and pregnancy.

We were twice with him, and we have reaſon to think he was as loving to us as to any body. And truly he did ſhew at parting ſome ſerious and hearty kindneſs: but we could faſten little upon him as to God's power, or any inward ſenſe of us or our teſtimony: yet we had little to object againſt what he ſaid; nay, ſome things were very extraordinary.

From him we went to doctor Bellingham, an Engliſh phyſician, a man of a lowly and tender ſpirit, who received us in much love, lamenting, when we left him, that he had no more time with us.

At the inn we had frequent opportunity to declare the way of truth, and we muſt needs ſay, we were heard with patience and ſobriety; particularly by a doctor of law, who lodged at the houſe, and an ancient man of Kiel in Holſtein. We left books amongſt them all, and in the love and fear of God we took our leave of them on the fifth day after dinner, and began our journey towards Herwerden, the court of the princeſs, where we arrived on the ſeventh day in the

the morning,[1] every way well, through the mercies of the Lord. We ſent to inform her of our arrival, and to know what hour it would be convenient for us to viſit her; who returned us this anſwer, 'That be-'ing then employed in the buſineſs of her govern-'ment, it would be the ſecond hour in the afternoon 'before ſhe could be at leiſure.'

The time being come, we went to viſit her, and found both her and the counteſs ready to receive us; which they did with much love and tenderneſs. I obſerved them to be much lower in their ſpirits than ever, and that our former bleſſed opportunities had had a bleſſed effect upon them. That afternoon was employed in the narrative of our travels, which they heard with great attention and refreſhment. The whole diſcourſe ended with a precious little meeting. The houſe being clear of ſtrangers, they both earneſtly preſſed us to ſup with them; which being not well able to decline, we ſubmitted to.

At ſupper the power of the Lord came upon me, and it was a *true ſupper* to us, for the hidden *manna* was manifeſted and broken among us; yea, a bleſſed meeting it proved to us: O the reverent tenderneſs and lowly frame of ſpirit that appeared this evening, both in the princeſs and counteſs. The Frenchwoman we found greatly improved, both in her love and underſtanding; yea, ſhe was very zealous and very broken, and was always with us on theſe occaſions. After ſupper we returned to the princeſs's chamber, where we ſtayed till it was about ten at night. At parting I deſired the princeſs would give us ſuch another opportunity next day, being the firſt day of the week, as we had the laſt time we were with her: ſhe anſwered me, 'With all my heart; but will ye not 'come in the morning too?' I replied, 'Yes, wil-'lingly: what time wilt thou be ready to receive us?' She anſwered, 'At ſeven.'

[1] 22. 7. 7.

About

About ſeven the next morning[k] we came; about eight the meeting began, and held till eleven: ſeveral perſons of the city, as well as thoſe of her own family, being preſent. The Lord's power very much affected them, and the counteſs was twice much broken while we ſpoke. After the people were gone out of the chamber, it lay upon me from the Lord to ſpeak to thoſe two, the princeſs and the counteſs, with reſpect to their particular conditions, occaſioned by theſe words from the princeſs; 'I am *fully convinced*; 'but O my ſins are great!'

Whilſt I was ſpeaking, the glorious power of the Lord wonderfully roſe, yea, after an awful manner, and had a deep entrance upon their ſpirits; eſpecially the counteſs's, ſo that ſhe was broken to pieces: God hath raiſed, and I hope fixed, his own teſtimony in them.

We returned to our inn, and after dinner we came back to the ſecond meeting on that day, which began about the ſecond hour in the afternoon: and truly, the reverent, bleſſed, ſure word of life was divided aright, and a precious ſenſe of truth was raiſed in the meeting. There came more of the city than in the morning, and we were much comforted in the Lord's power that was with us. For the truth had paſſage, and the hungry were ſatisfied, and the ſimple-hearted deeply affected.

This day at both meetings was one of the princeſs's women, that never was at a meeting before, and ſhe (though very ſhy of us the laſt time) became tender and loving to us; ſhe was truly reached. O, magnified be the name of the Lord, whoſe preſence was with us, and whoſe arm ſtood by us! After meeting the princeſs preſſed us to ſtay and ſup with her, pleading the quietneſs of the family, and that they were alone. At ſupper (as the night before) it was upon me to commemorate the goodneſs of the Lord, his daily providences, and how precious he is, in the co-

[k] 23. 7. 1.

venant

venant of light, to the dear children and followers of the light. Great was the reverence and tenderneſs that was upon the ſpirits of both princeſs and counteſs at that inſtant. After ſupper we returned to the princeſs's chamber, where we ſpent the reſt of our time, in holy ſilence, or diſcourſe, till about the tenth hour, and then we repaired to our quarters.

Next morning[1] about eight we returned to the court, where the princeſs and counteſs were ready to receive us. The morning was employed in a very ſerious relation, touching the affairs, practice, and ſufferings of our friends in England, with which they ſeemed greatly affected; when, about the eleventh hour, a rattling of a coach interrupted us. The counteſs immediately ſtepped out to ſee what was the matter, and returned with a countenance ſomewhat uneaſy, telling us, that the young princes, nephews to the princeſs and the graef of Donaw, were come to viſit her. Upon which I told them we ſhould withdraw, and return to our lodging; but intreated, that foraſmuch as we were to depart that night with the poſt-waggon, we might not be diſappointed of a farewel meeting with them; and the rather, for that I had a great burden upon my ſpirit: which they readily complied with, telling me, theſe perſons would only dine and be gone. As we went to the door, the counteſs ſtepped before us, and opened it for us; and as I paſſed by, ſhe looked upon me with a weighty countenance, and fetched a deep ſigh, crying out, 'O 'the cumber and entanglements of this vain world! 'They hinder all good.' Upon which I replied, looking her ſtedfaſtly in the face, 'O come thou out of 'them then!'

After we had dined at our lodging, ſomething being upon me to write to the profeſſors of religion in that country, I went up to my chamber, that I might be the more retired. Juſt as I was about the concluſion of the paper, came the ſteward of the houſe from

[1] 24. 7. 2.

the

the princeſs, with this meſſage, 'That the princeſs 'intreated us to come to her, for the graef of Do-'naw had a great deſire to ſee us, and to ſpeak with 'us.' This brought a freſh weight and exerciſe upon us; but committing all to the Lord, and caſting our care upon him, we went.

Being arrived, the graef approached us in French: at firſt he took no notice of our inceremonious behaviour, but proceeded to enquire of us our ſucceſs in our journey, and what we found anſwering our journey and inclinations. Then we fell to points of religion, and the nature and end of true Chriſtianity, and what was the way that leadeth to the eternal reſt. After ſome ſhort debate about complete ſanctification in this life, we both agreed, that ſelf-denial, mortification, and victory, was the duty, and therefore ought to be the endeavour, of every ſincere Chriſtian.

From this I fell to give him ſome account of my retreat from the world, and the inducements I had thereto, and the neceſſity of an inward work; with which he ſeemed much pleaſed. After this he fell to the hat, &c. This choketh, and the rather, becauſe it telleth tales: it telleth what people are; it marketh men for ſeparatiſts; it is blowing a trumpet, viſibly croſſing the world; and that the fear of man (greatly prevalent with too many ſerious people in that land) cannot abide, ſtarteth at, and runneth away from. Howbeit, the Lord enabled me to open the thing to him; as that it was no plant of God's planting, but a weed of degeneracy and apoſtacy; a carnal and earthly honour; the effect, feeder, and pleaſer of pride, and of a vain mind, and that no advantage redounded to mankind by it; and how could they, that ought to do all to the glory of God, uſe that vain and unprofitable cuſtom, which cannot be done to the glory of God? I intreated him ſeriouſly to conſider with himſelf the riſe and end of it; whence it came, what it pleaſed, and what that was that was angry it had it not.

I alſo

I alſo told him of the ſincere and ſerviceable reſpect which truth ſubſtituteth in place thereof: and I exhorted him to ſimplicity and poverty of ſpirit; to be like that Jeſus he profeſſed to be his Saviour, whoſe outſide, as well as doctrine, pleaſed not the Jews; and ſo we parted. He took his leave of the princeſs, and then of us with great civility.

After he was gone, the princeſs deſired us to withdraw to her bed-chamber, and there we began our farewell meeting. The thing lay weighty upon me, and that in the deep dread of the Lord; and, eternally magnified be the name of the Lord that overſhadowed us with his glory, his heavenly, breaking, diſſolving power richly flowed amongſt us, and his miniſtring angel of life was in the midſt of us. Let my ſoul never forget the divine ſenſe that overwhelmed all. At that bleſſed farewell I took of them, much opened in me of the hour of Chriſt's temptation, his watchfulneſs, perſeverance and victory: alſo about the ten virgins, what the true virgin was, the true oil and lamp; and what the bridegroom, his door, chamber, and ſupper: and in the concluſion of that torrent of heavenly, melting love with which we were all deeply affected, I fell on my knees, recommending them unto the Lord, crying with ſtrong cries to him for their preſervation, and beſeeching the Lord's preſence with us, and ſo ended.

After ſome pauſe, I went to the princeſs, and took her by the hand, which ſhe received and embraced with great ſigns of a weighty kindneſs, being much broken: I ſpoke a few words apart to her, and left the bleſſing and peace of Jeſus with and upon her. Then I went to the counteſs, and left a particular exhortation with her, who fervently beſeeched me to remember her, and implore the Lord on her behalf. From her I went to the Frenchwoman, and bid her be faithful and conſtant to that which ſhe knew: ſhe was exceedingly broken, and took an affectionate and reverent leave of us.

Then I ſpoke to the reſt, and took leave ſeverally of them; my companions did all the like. They followed us to the outward room, and there it was upon me to ſtep to the counteſs, and once more to ſpeak to her, and take my leave of her, which ſhe received and returned with great ſenſe, humility and love. So turning to them all, my heart and eye to the Lord, I prayed that the fear, preſence, love and life of God, with all heavenly bleſſings, might deſcend and reſt with and upon them, then, and for ever.

Home we went to our lodging, cleared the houſe, exhorted the family, left books, and then took waggon for Weſel, about 200 Engliſh miles from Herwerden. We rode three nights and days without lying down on a bed, or ſleeping, otherwiſe than in the waggon, which was only covered with an old ragged ſheet.[m] The company we had with us, made twelve in number, which much ſtreightened us: they were often, if not always, vain; yea, in their religious ſongs, which is the faſhion of that country, eſpecially by night; they call them Luther's ſongs, and ſometimes pſalms. We were forced often to reprove and teſtify againſt their hypocriſy, to be full of all vain, and often profane talk one hour, and ſing pſalms to God the next; we ſhewed them the deceit and abomination of it. We paſſed through ſeveral great towns by the way, as Lipſtad, Ham, &c. Many diſcourſes we had of truth, and the religion and worſhip that was truly Chriſtian, and all was very well; they bore what we ſaid. But one thing was remarkable, that may not be omitted: I had not been ſix hours in the waggon, before an heavy weight and unuſual oppreſſion fell upon me; yea, it weighed me almoſt to the grave, that I could almoſt ſay, 'My ſoul was ſad even unto death.' I knew not at preſent the ground of this exerciſe; it remained about twenty-four hours upon me. Then it opened in me, that it was a travail for the ſeed of God, that it might ariſe over all in them I left behind,

[m] 25. 7. 3. 26. 7. 4.

and

and that nothing might be loſt but the ſon of perdition. O the ſtrong cries, and deep agonies, many tears and ſincere bowings and humblings of ſoul before the Lord, that his holy ſenſe, which was raiſed in them, might be preſerved alive in them, and they for ever in it! That they might grow and ſpread as heavenly plants of righteouſneſs, to the glory of the name of the Lord.

The narrative from the 27th of the 7th month incluſive, to the 10th of the 8th month excluſive, is inſerted in the following letter to the counteſs of Hornes.

For ANNA MARIA DE HORNES, ſtiled Counteſs of Hornes, at Herwerden in Germany.

My dear friend,

O That thou mayeſt for ever dwell in the ſweet and tender ſenſe of that divine love and life which hath viſited thy ſoul, affected and overcome thy heart! O tell me, hath it not ſometimes raiſed thy ſpirit above the world, and filled thee with fervent and paſſionate deſires, yea, holy reſolutions, to follow Jeſus thy bleſſed Saviour, who hath given his moſt precious blood for thee, that thou ſhouldeſt not live to thyſelf, but to him that hath ſo dearly purchaſed thee?

O the retired, humble, reverent frame that I have beheld thee in, when this bleſſed life hath drawn thee into itſelf, and adorned and ſeaſoned thee with its own heavenly virtue; beautifying thy very countenance beyond all the vain and fooliſh ornaments of the wanton daughters of Sodom and Egypt; for therein are charms not known to the children of this world.

O that this holy and chaſte life may be always precious with thee! And that thou mayeſt be for ever chaſtely kept in the love and fellowſhip of it! That out of this world's nature, ſpirit, and practice, thou mayeſt be redeemed, by him who is the way, the

truth, and the life; who, as thou watcheſt with holy vigilance, will not only daily manifeſt the devices of the enemy to thee, but ſave thee from him. For Chriſt's work in thee is thy ſanctification, as it is in him his Father's will, as Paul ſaid of old to the believers, "This is the will of God, even your ſanctification."

My dearly beloved friend, be ſtedfaſt, immoveable, without wavering; and work out thy great ſalvation with fear and trembling; and loſe not that ſweet and precious ſenſe that the Lord hath begotten in thee: it is ſoon loſt, at leaſt weakened, but hard to recover. Wherefore let not the ſpirit of the world, in any of its appearances, vain company, unneceſſary diſcourſe, or words, or worldly affairs, prevail upon the civility of thy nature; for they will oppreſs the innocent life, and bring grievous weights and burdens upon thy ſoul, and prolong the coming of the Lord, whom thou lookeſt for, and put the day of thy redemption afar off. O beware of this compliance! Let me put thee in mind of that ſenſible reſolution ſo frequently and ſo paſſionately repeated by thee; '*Il faut que je rompe, Il faut que je rompe.*' Ah! this ſpeaketh a weight, this weight a ſenſe, and this ſenſe a ſtrong conviction. Now be aſſured, that till obedience be yielded to that preſent manifeſtation and conviction, the good things deſired and thirſted after can never be enjoyed.

Wherefore, my dear friend, be faithful, and watch againſt the workings of the ſpirit of this world in thyſelf; that the nature and image of it in all things may be crucified, that thou mayeſt know an entire tranſlation, with holy Enoch, and walk with God. Jeſus, the holy light, is this croſs and power of God, that killeth and maketh alive; and he is the heavenly Vine too: if thou abideſt in him, thou wilt bring forth fruit; but if thou abideſt not in him, thou wilt not bring forth that fruit, in which his heavenly Father only can be glorified. O ſee what the mind daily abideth in! O my ſoul is even raviſhed with the ſenſe of that holy and quiet habitation! "In me," ſaith he,

"you

" you ſhall have peace, but in the world trouble; " however, be of good cheer, I have overcome the " world; I am not of the world:" as if he had ſaid, ' I am not of the world's ways, worſhips, cuſtoms, or ' faſhions; for whatever is of the nature and ſpirit of ' this world, hath no part in *me:* and as I am not of ' this world, neither are *you* of this world; for I have ' choſen you *out* of the world; out of the inventions, ' out of the worſhips, and faſhions of the world. ' You are to leave them all, to come out of them all; ' and live and walk as pilgrims in the world; that is, ' ſtrangers: To what? To the life and practice of the ' world; not uſing, but renouncing, the vain cuſtoms ' and ceremonies, yea, the whole converſation of the ' world, remembering that the friendſhip of this world ' is enmity with God. And what if the world hate ' you, it hated me *firſt*; and the diſciple is not greater ' than his Maſter, nor the ſervant than his Lord: if ' you were of the world, the world would *love* you, ' and not reproach and perſecute you; for the world ' loveth *its own.*' O my dear friend, that thou mayeſt be perfectly ſenſible what it is, not to be of this world.

But there is yet a farther myſtery in theſe words, not diſcerned even of many in whom ſome tenderneſs and inquiry is begotten, much leſs of the worldly Chriſtians. This world hath a falſe earth, and a falſe heaven, a falſe foundation, and a falſe joy: not only groſs wickedneſs, but iniquity in a myſtery inwardly and outwardly. The whore, falſe prophet, and dragon, and all their offspring are here concerned. This is their world, that muſt be burnt with fire, that Chriſt is not of, nor his true diſciples. O the light of Jeſus diſcovereth it! And he is that ſpiritual Solomon, that giveth true judgment, and that ſaveth the living child, the true birth; giving it to the right mother, and not to the falſe pretender. And all that hear his voice, and follow him, ſhall receive true light, diſcerning and judgment, to whom

all judgment is given: they ſhall know his voice from man's.

There are two trees, of differing natures, that have contrary fruits and leaves. The one is the *tree of life*, which is *Chriſt*; the other, the *tree of death*, and that is *Satan*. The fruit of the one giveth *life*; the fruit of the other bringeth *death*: the leaves of the firſt *heal*; the leaves of the laſt *poiſon*. Many that diſcern the tree, cannot clearly diſtinguiſh the branches: and thoſe that ſee many arms and branches, cannot diſtinctly behold the leaves, much leſs the fruit. This cometh by the gradual diſcoveries and revelations of the light of Jeſus, the word of God, as it is daily received, and daily obeyed. Yea, and that word is the axe and ſword of the Almighty, to cut it down; daily feel the ſtrokes of this eternal ſearching light and word at the very root of this corrupt tree, this evil one, and his corrupt nature, works and effects. For which end Jeſus Chriſt is come, and therefore is called a Saviour, which is little known in truth to the Chriſtians of this world.

Ah! my dear friend, thou knoweſt this word, yea, thou haſt felt it: O hide it in thy heart! Treaſure it up in thy ſoul, and love it, and abide with it for ever. Alas! Whither ſhouldſt thou go? This hath the *words*, and is the *word*, of eternal life: daily, therefore, watch and wait, that thou mayeſt be grafted more into it; that thou mayeſt live and grow by the virtue and life of it, and that it may grow in thy heart, as it grew among the firſt Chriſtians, the holy followers of the perſecuted Jeſus. And when it ſearcheth thy wound, and cutteth away thy dead fleſh; yea, when it ſeparateth between the ſoul, and the ſpirit of this world, and divideth between joints and marrow, when it cutteth off the right hand, and plucketh out the right eye; O watch unto prayer, and pray that thou mayeſt endure! O keep the holy patience of this pure and living word; and this very word will *keep thee* in the hour of thy ſharpeſt trials, and foreſt tribulations! *All virtue* is *in it!* It is a *tried word*, a *ſure refuge*, the

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ſtaff and *ſtrength* of the righteous in all ages. It was David's *teacher* and *buckler*; a *light* to his feet, and a *lanthorn* to his paths. Walk thou in the light thereof, and thou ſhalt not ſtumble: "In this word is life (as "in the root) and this life is the light of men." They that receive and love the light of it, will therein receive divine life from it to live to God. This is the *bread* of *God*, that cometh from God, and feedeth, and leadeth up to God: by this only, that which is born of God liveth, and is nouriſhed: this is that carcaſe to which the wiſe eagles gather; and ſee thou gathereſt to no other, and feedeſt on no other. This is that *hidden manna*, that cometh from heaven; that feedeth God's goſpel Iſrael. The world hath a manna, but it periſheth; but this endureth for ever: for it is not of *man*, nor from *man*, but immortal, and from God; *hid* from the knowledge of all the vain Chriſtians in the world: ſo that the Iſrael of God can ſay to the children of this world, and that in truth and righteouſneſs, "We have a bread you know not of." For this manna wait daily, that thou mayeſt be ſtrengthened in thy wilderneſs-travel to the land of eternal reſt.

Wherefore "labour not for the bread that periſh-"eth;" that is, the bread of man's inventing and making, which cometh from below, and profiteth not, becauſe it giveth not life eternal. But labour thou, my dear friend, for the bread that *never* periſheth, that endureth for *ever*, and that giveth life eternal to all that feed upon it. O caſt thy care upon this word; love it, and dwell with it; wait daily upon it, hear its voice only, and follow it, for it bringeth the ſoul to the eternal habitation of reſt and glory. Yea, when all fleſh ſhall wither, and the beauty thereof fade away, this word, and they that are grafted into it, "ſhall "abide for ever." O that this may be thy *choice*, and it ſhall be thy *diadem*, and thy *eternal crown* of *glory*.

Theſe are the fervent deſires, and theſe the daily prayers of my ſoul, to the God of my ſalvation for thee; not only that nothing in thee may be loſt, be-

ſides the ſon of perdition; but that thou mayeſt "caſt "off every weight and burden, and that ſin that "doth ſo eaſily beſet thee;" that grieveth, boweth, and oppreſſeth thee; under the heavy weight of which thou groaneſt, and ſigheſt that thy Redeemer would come from Zion to deliver thee. O give not heed to the enemy, the *falſe accuſer*, that ſeeketh to devour that which is begotten of God in thee: neither look upon thine own ſins, burdens, or weakneſſes; but lift up thy head, and look to JESUS, the author of thy bleſſed viſitation, and wholly hunger and thirſt after him, the *ſpiritual brazen ſerpent*, that healeth and relieveth all that in faith and full aſſurance look to him. Want of looking to him, hearing and obeying him, and having *true faith* in him, is the cauſe both of all the preſumption and deſpair that are at this day. He did no mighty things of old in thoſe places where they *believed* not.

O faint not; look not back; remember the holy ancients, the holy pilgrims of faith, the royal generation of heaven! Heb. xi. Thou believeſt in God; believe alſo in *him*, for the *work*'s ſake that he has already wrought in thee: he will miniſter to thee, as he was miniſtred unto by his Father's angels in the hour of his abaſement and great temptation. O watch, and be faithful, and thou ſhalt be a noble witneſs for the Lord.

Once more let me expoſtulate with thee: wouldſt thou overcome the enemies of thy ſoul's peace, and enjoy the delightful preſence of the Lord with thee? then keep nothing back; let nothing be with-held that he calleth for: remember that Saul of old loſt his kingdom, for keeping that alive which he ſhould have ſlain: thou knoweſt what befel Ananias and Sapphira outwardly: but be thou like the poor widow of old, that therefore gave more into the treaſury than all the reſt, becauſe *they* reſerved the *greateſt* part to *themſelves*; but *ſhe* gave *all ſhe had*. O bleſſed are they that make no bargains for themſelves; that have no reſerves for ſelf; neither conſult with fleſh and blood;

nor

nor in any ſenſe conform to the leaſt ceremony which is born of them; but that ſubmit their wills, in all things, to the Lord's, that they may be made perfect through ſufferings, as Chriſt was.

Read me in the myſtery of life: I ſpeak not of deſerting, or flinging away all outward ſubſtance; but that thy heart may reign above all viſibles, and make God its treaſure, and never ſtick in any thing of this lower world, or reſt ſhort of CHRIST, the eternal reſt of all the ſeed of faith.

Here beginneth the NARRATIVE.

THE Lord brought us well to Weſel on the fifth day after we left Herwerden, having ſome ſervice by the way.[n] At Weſel we had a good time with doctor Schuler, and Roſendale, and the woman we mentioned to thee; but the taylor was ſhy, and fearful of coming to us at the doctor's.

The next day[o] we went towards Duyſburgh: we viſited the ſchult, or chief governor, that night, whom we found at home; he received us in much kindneſs. His wife and ſiſter, we fear, have been ſhaken in their good teſtimony ſince we were laſt there; ſome fowls of the air have devoured the ſeed that was ſown. O that ſweet and tender frame in which we left them the time before! However, the entrance we had upon the ſpirit of the ſchult, a little conſolated us. Hence we ſent Maria Martha's friend a letter, deſiring him to let us have his anſwer the next night at Duſſeldorp, incloſed to Neander, when and where we might ſee him, either at Duſſeldorp, Mulheim, or Duyſburgh, and if it were poſſible, we would gladly viſit the counteſs of Bruch.

We got early to Duſſeldorp next day,[p] being the laſt day of the week: but Neander was gone to Mulheim, in order to preach on the morrow; ſo that we were diſappointed of our intelligence.

[n] 27. 7. 5. [o] 28. 7. 6. [p] 29. 7. 7.

Next

Next morning[q] we went towards Collen, and there arrived that evening.

The next day[r] we had a good opportunity with Van Dinando, and Docemius, at the houſe of the latter; and that afternoon took boat back for Duſſeldorp: where arriving next morning,[s] we preſently ſent for Neander; who came to us, and three more in company. We had a bleſſed meeting with them, and one of the three that came with him our ſouls were exceedingly affected with.

The meeting done, they went away, but Neander returned. And firſt, of our letter to Mulheim: we found by him, (as alſo at our return to Duyſburgh) that Kuper was ſo far from endeavouring our viſit to the counteſs, that he would not meet us himſelf, neither at Duſſeldorp, Mulheim, or Duyſburgh: nay, it did not pleaſe him to ſend us an anſwer, much leſs any the leaſt ſalutation. I confeſs it grieved us now for Neander; the young man hath a zeal for God, and there is a viſitation upon him; my ſoul deſireth that it may not be ineffectual: but I have a great fear upon me. For this I know certainly, from the Lord God that liveth for ever, and I have a cloud of witneſſes to my brethren, that *retirement* and *ſilence* before God is the alone way for him to feel the heavenly gift to ariſe, and come forth pure and unmixed. This *only* can aright preach for God, pray to God, and beget people to God, and nothing elſe. But, alas! his office in that family is quite another thing; namely, to perform *ſet* duties, at fixed times: pray, preach, and ſing, and that in the way of the world's appointment. His very office is Babyloniſh, namely, a chaplain; for it is a Popiſh invention.

In the good old times, godly Abraham, that was a prince, and Joſhua a great general, and David a king, with many more, inſtructed their families in the knowledge and fear of God: but now people are too idle, or too great, to *pray for themſelves*, and ſo they wor-

[q] 30. 7. 1. [r] 1. 8. 2. [s] 2. 8. 3.

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ſhip God by *proxy*. How can a miniſter of the goſpel be at the beck of any mortal living, or give his ſoul and conſcience to the time and appointment of another? The thing in itſelf is utterly wrong, and againſt the very nature and worſhip of the new and everlaſting covenant. You had better meet to read the ſcriptures, the book of martyrs, &c. if you cannot ſit and wait in *ſilence* upon the Lord, till his *angel move* upon your *hearts*, than to uphold ſuch a formal, limited and ceremonious worſhip. This is not the way out of Babylon. And I have a deep ſenſe upon my ſoul, that if the yonng man ſtrive beyond the talent God hath given him, to anſwer his office, and fill up his place, and wait not for the pure and living word of God in his heart, to open his mouth, but either ſtudieth for his ſermons, or ſpeaketh his own words, he will be utterly ruined.

'Wherefore, O dear friend, have a care thou art 'no ſnare to him, nor he to thee! Man's works ſmo-'ther and ſtifle the true life of Chriſt: what have you 'now to do but to look to Jeſus, the author of the 'holy deſires that are in you, who himſelf hath vi-'ſited you. Tempt not the Lord, provoke not God. 'What ſhould any man preach *from*, but *Chriſt?* And 'what ſhould he preach people *to*, but *Chriſt in them*, 'the hope of glory? Conſider, nothing feedeth that 'which is *born* of God, but that which cometh down 'from God; even the bread of God, which is the *Son* 'of *God*, who giveth his life for the world. Feel it, 'and feed on it: let none mock God, or grieve his 'eternal Spirit, that is come to ſeal them up from the 'mouth of man that hath deceived them; that Jeſus, 'the anointing, may teach them, and abide with them 'for ever.

'Be ſtedfaſt and immoveable; and this will draw 'the young man nearer to the Lord, and empty him 'of himſelf, and purge away mixtures, and then you 'will all come to the *divine ſilence*. And when all 'fleſh is *ſilent* before the Lord, then is it the *Lord's* 'time to ſpeak; and if you will *hear*, your ſouls ſhall 'live.

'*live*. O my ſoul is in great pain, that you may be 'all chaſtely preſerved in that divine ſenſe begotten 'in your hearts by the eternal word of God, that 'abideth for ever; that nothing may ever be able to 'extinguiſh it. But more eſpecially that thou, my 'dear friend, mayeſt be kept in faithfulneſs: for the 'Lord is come very near to thee, and thou muſt begin 'the work, the Lord God expecteth at thy hand. If 'one ſheep break through, the reſt will follow: where-'fore watch, O watch that thou mayeſt be ſtrengthened 'and confirmed; and ſtrengthen all that is begotten 'of God in that family, by thy weighty, ſavoury and 'circumſpect life! O how is my ſoul affected with 'thy preſent condition! It is the fervent ſupplication 'of my heart, that thou mayeſt, through the daily 'obedience of the croſs of Jeſus, conquer and ſhine 'as a bright and glorious ſtar in the firmament of 'God's eternal kingdom. So let it be, Lord Jeſus! 'Amen.'

We tenderly, yet freely, ſpoke our hearts to him, before we parted; which done, in God's love we took our leave of him at Duſſeldorp, and got that night to Duyſburgh, being the third day of the week. We firſt viſited Dr. Maſtricht, a man of a good natural temper, but a rigid Calviniſt. I perceived by him, that they held a conſultation about ſeeing us at Bruch; but they all concluded it was beſt to decline meeting with us, becauſe of the graef, he being ready to fling our name, in reproach, upon them, in his diſpleaſure; and this would confirm him in his jealouſies of them. This might excuſe the counteſs, but by no means Kuper; and if I had any ſenſe, Maſtricht was there with them, upon deſign to fruſtrate the hopes we had conceived of meeting with her. We from that de-ſcended to other things of weight, and in love and peace parted.

From his houſe we returned to our inn; and after ſupper we viſited the ſchult, who with much civility and ſome tenderneſs received us. His ſiſter alſo came to us, and we had a good little meeting with them, and

and our God was with us, and his pure and tender life appeared for our juſtification, and pleaded our innocent cauſe in their conſciences: and ſo we parted with them, leaving our Maſter's peace among them.

The next day[t] we came to Weſel, being the fourth-day; where we underſtood by Dr. Schuler, that thy ſiſter deſired we would be ſo kind as to ſee her when we returned: upon that we went and viſited her; ſhe received us very kindly. Thy brother-in-law's two ſiſters were preſent; we ſtayed with her at leaſt two hours. Many queſtions ſhe put to me, which I was glad to have an opportunity to anſwer, for it made way for a meeting: ſhe intreated us to come again if we ſtayed, and told us our viſit was very grateful to her: adding, that becauſe we paſſed her by the laſt time, ſhe concluded with herſelf, 'we had no hopes 'of her;' with more to that effect. From thence we went to Dr. Schuler's, who freely offered us his houſe for a meeting next day: and, indeed, the man is bold, after his manner.

The next day[u] about ſeven, I writ a billet in French to thy ſiſter, to inform her of the meeting to begin about eight: ſhe came, and her two ſiſters with her; there was Roſendale, colonel Copius and his wife, and about three or four more; and to our great joy the Lord Almighty was with us, and his holy power reached their hearts, and the doctor and Copius thereby confeſſed to our teſtimony.

The meeting laſted about four hours: being ended, we took our leave of them in the Spirit of Jeſus, and ſo returned to our inn. The taylor was all this while afraid of coming to our inn, or to the doctor's to the meeting: great fears have overtaken him, and the poor man liveth but in a dry land. After dinner we viſited Copius and Roſendale; and at Copius's we had a bleſſed broken meeting; he, his wife, Roſendale, his wife, and another woman, (wife to one Dr. Willick's brother) preſent; they were extremely affected and

[t] 3. 8. 4. [u] 4. 8. 5.

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overcome by the power of the Lord: it was like one of our Herwerden meetings; indeed much tenderneſs was upon all their ſpirits.

This done, and having left books, both there, and with thy ſiſter, we left Weſel with hearts full of joy and peace: and let me ſay this, that more kindneſs, and openneſs, we have ſcarcely found in all our travels: O that this bleſſed ſenſe may dwell with them. A ſeed there is in that place God will gather; yea, a noble people he will find out: and I doubt not but there will be a good meeting of friends in that city before many years go about; my love is great to that place. O how good is our dear Lord to us, who helpeth our infirmities, and carrieth through all oppoſition, and feedeth us with his divine preſence, in which is life! His candle hath hitherto reſted on our tabernacle, and he hath made us glad in his own ſalvation: eternal glory be to his excellent name.

We immediately took a poſt-carr, and came next day,[w] about two in the afternoon, to Cleve, where we had a very precious meeting at an honeſt procurator's houſe, who received us with much love: four or five more were preſent, all grave and tender: our hearts were greatly affected with their love and ſimplicity. We alſo viſited the lady Hubner, who was kind to us.

Next morning[x] we ſet out for Nimeguen, and thence immediately to Utrecht, where we arrived that night; and took the night-boat for Amſterdam, becauſe of a preſſure upon my ſpirit to be next day at the meeting; and the rather, having intimated as much from Cullen.

We arrived in the morning[y] at Amſterdam, where we found our dear friends generally well, the city much alarmed, and great curioſity in ſome, and deſires in others, to come to the meeting. We had a very great meeting, and many people of note reſorted: God's goſpel-bell was rung, the great day of the Great God ſounded, and the "dead was raiſed," ſo

[w] 5. 8. 6. [x] 6. 8. 7. [y] 7. 8. 1.

as

as much tenderneſs appeared in ſeveral. O bleſſed be the name of the Lord, whoſe work and teſtimony proſpereth.

The next day was ſpent in divers affairs relating to the truth.[z]

The day following[a] we had a meeting with Galenus Abrahams (the great father of the Socinian Meniſts in theſe parts) accompanied with ſeveral preachers and others of his congregation; divers of our friends were alſo preſent. It continued about five hours: he affirmed, in oppoſition to us, 'That there was no 'Chriſtian church, miniſtry, or commiſſion apoſtolical 'now in the world;' but the Lord aſſiſted us, with his wiſdom and ſtrength, to confound his attempts.

Here endeth the Narrative.

I intend a viſit at the Hague to the lady Overkirk, ſiſter of the Somerdikes, and ſome others that have ſober characters of truth and friends; and thence to Rotterdam, where I have much to do, both with reſpect to meetings and the preſs.

Thus, my dear friend, have I given thee a tedious narrative, yet I hope not altogether unpleaſant. Perhaps the brevity of my letters hereafter, may beſt apologize for the length of this: however, I conſider two things; one is, that thou haſt time enough, one time or other, to look over it; and next, that I have plentifully anſwered thy requeſts, and demonſtrated 'I have not forgotten thee.' O dear friend, let us live and remember one another (now abſent) in that divine ſenſe in which the Lord God diſſolved our ſpirits when together. O the *unity* of this *faith*, the *purity* of this *love*, and the *bond* of this *peace!* The Lord Jeſus be with thy ſpirit, and keep thee in this "the hour of thy temptation," that thou mayeſt come forth as "gold ſeven times tried." So ſhall thy teſtimony ſhine for the God that hath called thee,

[z] 8. 8. 2. [a] 9. 8. 3.

and

and HE will reward thee with honour, glory, and eternal life. Amen.

" Thus ſaith the Lord, I remember thee, the kind-
" neſs of thy youth, the love of thine eſpouſals,
" when thou wenteſt after me in the wilderneſs, in
" a land that was not ſown." Jer. ii. 2. Dear friend conſider this.

Yet again: " The way of the juſt is uprightneſs:
" thou, moſt upright, doſt weigh the paths of the
" juſt; yea, in the way of thy judgments, O Lord,
" have we waited for thee, the deſire of our ſoul is to
" thy name, and to the remembrance of thee."

" With my ſoul have I deſired thee in the night;
" yea, with my ſpirit within me will I ſeek thee early;
" for when thy judgments are in the earth, the inha-
" bitants of the world will learn righteouſneſs."

" Lord, thou wilt ordain peace for us; for thou
" alſo haſt wrought all our works in us."

" O Lord our God, other lords beſides thee have
" had dominion over us; but by *thee only* we make
" mention of thy name."

" Lord, in trouble have they viſited thee; they
" poured out a prayer when thy chaſtening was upon
" them."

" Like as a woman with child, that draweth near
" the time of her delivery, is in pain, and crieth out
" in her pangs, ſo have we been in thy ſight, O
" Lord."

" We have been with child, we have been in pain,
" we have as it were brought forth wind, we have
" not wrought any deliverance in the earth, neither
" have the inhabitants of the world fallen."

" Thy dead men ſhall live, together with my dead
" body ſhall they ariſe: awake and ſing, ye that dwell
" in the duſt, for thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and
" the earth ſhall caſt out the dead."

" Come, my people, enter thou into thy chambers,
" and ſhut thy doors about thee; hide thyſelf as it
" were for a little moment, until the indignation be
" overpaſt."

" For

" For behold, the Lord cometh out of his place, " to puniſh the inhabitants of the earth for their ini- " quities; the earth alſo ſhall diſcloſe her blood, and " ſhall no more cover her ſlain." Iſa. xxvi. 7, 8, to 21. So come, dear Lord Jeſus, that was dead, and is alive, and liveth for ever. Amen.

Very dearly farewell,
Thy friend, that faithfully travaileth
for thy redemption,
W. PENN.

Amſterdam, 10th of the 8th month, 1677.

The ſame day[b] we had a bleſſed publick meeting, never to be forgotten: O the majeſty, glory, and life that the Lord attended us with! Our hearts were deeply affected with his preſence; great reverence and brokenneſs was over the meeting, more than I had ſeen. The meeting done, we were oppoſed by a preacher, who was cloſely encountered and purſued by ſeveral merchants, &c. (not of us) that cried, 'He 'was rude and ignorant, and, that they had a teſti- 'mony for us;' and offered to diſpute in our defence, but the prieſt ran away: they followed him till they houſed him; what followed I know not.

It was upon me this day to engage Galenus Abrahams to a ſecond conference, that we might more fully debate and confute his grand objections againſt the preſent 'diſpenſation of truth, and the heavenly mi- 'niſtry witneſſed among friends.' He refuſed not my offer of a ſecond meeting, but ſent me word his buſineſs would not give him leave to let it be any time this day.[c] Upon which the next morning was fixed for the conference, to begin at eight, which accordingly it did, and held till one. The account of both the conferences is not yet found; but with the latter ſome of his own friends ſeemed better ſatisfied, and it ended

[b] 10. 8. 4. [c] 11. 8. 5.

very comfortably to us, becauſe to a general ſatiſfaction.

The meeting thus ended, and having refreſhed ourſelves, after a ſolemn leave taken of our dear friends at Amſterdam, G. F. and myſelf went that night to Leyden, accompanied by B. F. Coming there late at night, we forbore to inquire after any worthy in that place.

But the next morning[d] we found out two, one a German, of, or near, Darmſtad, who not only expreſſed much love to the principle of truth, and unto us the friends thereof, but alſo informed us of a retired perſon, of great quality, that liveth about two hours back again towards Amſterdam, at a village called Wonderwick. Our reſolutions of being that night at Rotterdam, and having the Hague to viſit by the way, made our return at that time impracticable. However, the relation of the German concerning the good inclinations of the great man and his wife, their diſdain of the world, and voluntary retreat from the greatneſs and glory of it, reſted ſtrongly upon our ſpirits. This perſon preſently conducted us to the houſe of one who had formerly been a profeſſor in the univerſity, and there left us.

To this perſon both G. F. and myſelf were more than ordinarily open: he was of a ſweet, yet quick, of a wiſe, yet very loving and tender ſpirit: there were few ſtrangers we felt greater love to. He aſſented to every thing we ſaid: and truly his underſtanding was very clear and open to the things that lay upon us to declare; and he expreſſed his firm belief of great revolutions at hand, and that they ſhould terminate in the ſetting up of the 'glorious kingdom of CHRIST 'in the world.'

What ſhall I ſay? The man felt our ſpirits, and therefore loved us; and in the freſh ſenſe of that love, writ a letter by us to a retired perſon at the Hague, like himſelf: which in ſeveral places of Germany was

[d] 12. 8. 6.

the

the way whereby we found out moſt of the retired people we viſited. After near two hours time with him, we took waggon for the Hague, leaving the peace of God upon him.

The firſt thing we did there, was to inquire out the lady Overkirk, a perſon of a retired and religious character, ſeparated from the publick worſhip of that country: ſhe was at home; but her huſband's being with her, a great man of the army, of another diſpoſition and way of living, hindered our acceſs at that time.

The next perſon we went to, was a judge of the chief court of juſtice in that republick: he received us with great reſpect, and a more than ordinary deſire to know the 'truth of our faith and principles.' We declared of the things moſt ſurely believed amongſt us, in the power and love of God. He made his obſervations, objections, and queries upon ſeveral things we ſpake; to whom we replied, and explained all matters in queſtion; inſomuch as he declared himſelf ſatisfied in our confeſſions, and his 'good belief 'of us and our principles.' We took a ſolemn and ſenſible leave of him, and we felt the witneſs of God reached in him, and his ſpirit tendered, which filled our hearts with dear love to him: he brought us to his ſtreet-door, and there we parted.

From him we went to viſit that perſon for whom we had a letter from the doctor at Leyden, but he was not at home. We immediately took waggon for Delft, and from thence an expreſs-boat for Rotterdam, where we arrived well about eight at night.

The next day[e] was moſtly ſpent in viſiting of friends, and the friendly people in that place, which conſiſted of ſeveral perſons of worldly note.

The next day,[f] being the firſt day of the week, we had a large and bleſſed meeting, wherein the deep 'Myſteries of the kingdom of CHRIST and *Antichriſt*, 'were declared in the power of an endleſs life.' Se-

[e] 13. 8. 7. [f] 14. 8. 1.

veral of divers religions were there, but no diſturbance or contradiction; but a profound ſilence and reverent attention were over the meeting.[g]

That night I had a bleſſed meeting at my lodging, with thoſe perſons of note, that at ſome times viſited our publick meetings, as that day, and have a convincement upon them: the Lord's love, truth and life, preciouſly reached towards them, and they were very ſweetly affected.

Next day[h] I beſtowed in perfecting and correcting ſeveral publick letters, which I was moved to write, both in my firſt and ſecond journey in Germany, and after my return to theſe Low-Countries. The titles whereof follow.*

I. A Summons, or Call to Chriſtendom; in an Earneſt Expoſtulation with her, to prepare for the Great and Notable Day of the Lord that is at the Door.

II. To all thoſe who are ſenſible of the Day of their Viſitation, and who have received the Call of the Lord, by the Light and Spirit of his Son in their Hearts, to partake of the Great Salvation, wherever ſcattered throughout the World; but more eſpecially in the High and Low-Dutch Nations; Faith, Hope, and Charity, which overcome the World, be multiplied among you.

III. To all thoſe Profeſſors of Chriſtianity, that are externally ſeparated from the viſible Sects and Fellowſhips in the Chriſtian World, (ſo called) wherever Hidden or Scattered: True Knowledge, which is Life Eternal, from God the Father, through Chriſt Jeſus, be increaſed.

IV. A Tender Viſitation, in the Love of God that overcometh the World, to all People in the

[g] A perſon then convinced, though the world prevailed, died lately, acknowledging it, and cried out, 'How happy had I been, if I 'had then obeyed.'

[h] 15. 8. 2.

* They are inſerted in this collection.

High

High and Low-Dutch Nations, who hunger and thirſt after righteouſneſs, and deſire to know and worſhip God in Truth, and in Sincerity; containing a Plain Teſtimony to the Ancient and Apoſtolical Life, Way and Worſhip that God is reviving and exalting in the Earth, in his Spirit and Truth.

The ſenſe of the ſerious retreat of the great man we heard of at Leyden, was ſo ſtrong upon me, that I could not ſee myſelf clear to leave the country before I had given him a viſit. I purpoſed therefore the next morning to ſet forward to the Hague, from thence to Leyden, and ſo to Wonderwick.

I arrived there in the evening[1] with B. F. A. Sonnemans, and M. Sonnemans, and immediately made known our coming, and the end of it, to him and his wife, by the means of the young German, who was got thither before us to viſit them. An invitation came to us all at our inn, and immediately we repaired to his houſe, which was very ſtately, and yet plain. He preſently came to us, took us by the hand, and bid us 'heartily welcome.' We immediately ſat down, and after ſome time of retirement, I ſpoke ſomething of what was upon me; yet not before he had given us a ſober and pathetical account of his life, and of the preſent frame and diſpoſition of his ſpirit.

All this was in the abſence of his wife; but ſo ſoon as I had finiſhed what was then upon me to ſpeak of the witneſs of God, and of its work in man, upon the occaſion of the hiſtory he gave us of his life, he led us into another room, where his wife was: he told her, here were ſome Chriſtian friends come to viſit her; ſhe ſaluted us very kindly.

We all ſat down, and after ſome ſilence, the heavenly power of God did, in a living and tender manner, open their ſtates and conditions to me, and opened

[1] 16. 8. 3.

my mouth to them. The ſubſtance of my teſtimony was to this purpoſe, 'That *death* reigned from *Adam* 'to *Moſes*; *Moſes* was till the *prophets*; the *prophets* 'till *John*; and *John* till *Chriſt:* what Chriſt's day 'was: how few ſee this day: and whilſt people are 'talking of being in CHRIST, under grace, and not 'under the law, death reigneth over them, and they 'are not come to Moſes, nor the ſhaking or quaking 'mountain, the thunderings, lightnings, and whirl-'winds: and what was that way which led to CHRIST, 'and what it was to be *in* him, and under the govern-'ment of his grace; directing them to the bleſſed 'principle of light, and truth, and grace, which God 'had ſhed abroad in their hearts. I declared the na-'ture and manner of the appearing and operating of 'this principle; and appealed to their own conſcience, 'for the truth of what was ſaid:' and I can truly ſay, the holy life of JESUS was revealed amongſt us, and, like oil, ſwam on the top of all. In this ſenſe I was moved to kneel down and pray: great brokenneſs fell upon all; and *that* which was before the world began, was richly manifeſted in and amongſt us.

The meeting being done, the great man and his wife bleſſed us, and the work of God in our hands, ſaying, with tears in his eyes, 'My houſe is bleſſed 'for *your ſakes*; and bleſſed be God that I ever lived 'to ſee you.'

And thus we left them, though with much difficulty; for they preſſed us, with great earneſtneſs, both to eat and to lodge with them; and it was hard for them to bear our refuſal. They ſaid it was a ſcandal to their houſe, that they ſhould let ſuch good people as we were go out of it; or ſuffer us to lodge in any other place: but we declared our pre-engagement elſewhere, and that it was not for want of true kindneſs towards them.

One paſſage I had almoſt forgot to mention: 'I 'was,' ſaid he, 'once at table with the duke of Hol-'ſtein at Frederickſtadt, when the magiſtrates came 'to complain againſt a people called Quakers in that 'city;

'city: the duke was ready to be prejudiced againſt 'them; but at the very *naming* of them, I conceived 'a more than ordinary *kindneſs* in my mind towards 'them. I aſked the magiſtrate what they were for a 'people? He told me that they would not pull off 'their hats to their ſuperiors. I aſked him, whether 'they would pull off their hats to *God?* He ſaid, Yes. 'Said I, That may be the reaſon why they will not 'pull them off to *man*. Do they live peaceably? 'Yes. Do they pay their taxes? Yes. Do they rub 'their hats in your eyes? No. Do they do any harm 'with them? No. Why what is your quarrel then? 'They meet in ſilence, and they will not ſpeak or 'pray unleſs they be *moved by the Spirit*. Why, that 'is according to the doctrine of ſcripture: if this be 'to be a Quaker, I would I were a Quaker too. But,' ſaid he, 'I never ſaw one before, but I bleſs God I 'ſee you now.' He very much inveighed againſt the falſe Chriſtianity that is in the world, and greatly magnified a tender, mortified, and retired eſtate. I have great hopes he and his wife will die in the truth. We returned to our inn to ſupper, and to bed.

Next morning[k] we took waggon for the Hague, where we met with Docemius, the king of Denmark's reſident at Cullen, who had been at Rotterdam to ſeek us, and came back thither, with hopes to meet us. We had ſome ſervice there with a lawyer; but were again diſappointed of viſiting the lady Overkirk, becauſe of her huſband's preſence; and the other retired man before-mentioned was again from home: the judge would gladly have received us, but a great cauſe then depending commanded his attendance. That afternoon we took boat for Delft, and ſo to Rotterdam, where we all arrived well.

It was my deſire to have been the next day[l] at a meeting at Dort; but it ſeems that the way we hoped had been open for us, was ſhut, inſomuch that we were prevented of that ſervice. However, I applied

[k] 17. 8. 4. [l] 18. 8. 5.

myſelf to the perfecting of what yet wanted to be completed in thoſe writings I left behind me to be printed.

The next day,[m] being the ſixth day of the week, we had a very bleſſed publick meeting, taking therein our leave of the country: and after that was done, we had another amongſt friends, recommending to them the 'peaceable, tender, righteous TRUTH;' deſiring that they might live and grow in it, and be a people to the Lord's praiſe; ſo ſhould his work proſper, his dominion be enlarged and increaſed among them. In the evening I had alſo a meeting at my lodging among the great people of that place, of which I have before made mention: and magnified be the name of the Lord, his power did ſo ſweetly viſit them, and effectually reach them, that, at their departure, ſome of them fell upon our necks, and, with tears of love, prayed, that they might be remembered by us, and that they might have ſtrength to anſwer our great travail for them. We recommended them unto the Lord, and the pure word of his grace in their hearts.

The next day,[n] the generality of friends of that place met at Simon Johnſon's houſe, early in the morning, where we took our leave of one another, in the love and power of the Lord, feeling his living preſence with them that ſtayed, and with us that went.

Several accompanied us to the Briel, where we arrived about noon. There accompanied us the king of Denmark's reſident at Cullen, who had been with us at thoſe meetings at Rotterdam, P. Hendricks, and C. Rocloffs of Amſterdam, and A. Sonnemans, B. F. M. S. and S. J. with ſeveral others of Rotterdam. The packet-boat not being come, we were neceſſitated to lie there that night.

That night it was upon me, in the earneſt love of God, to ſalute the princeſs and counteſs, with a few farewell-lines, as followeth.

[m] 19, 8. 6. [n] 20, 8. 7.

To

To the Princeſs ELIZABETH,

Salvation in the Croſs, Amen.

Dear and truly reſpected friend,

MY ſoul moſt earneſtly deſireth thy temporal and eternal felicity, which ſtandeth in thy doing the will of God now on earth, as it is done in heaven. O dear princeſs, do it! Say the word once in truth and righteouſneſs, "Not my will, but thine be "done, O God!" Thy days are few, and then thou muſt go to judgment:* then an account of thy talent God will require from thee. What improvement haſt thou made? Let it prove and ſhew its own excellency, that it is of God, and that it leadeth all, that love it, to God. O that thou mayeſt be able to give an account with joy!

I could not leave this country, and not teſtify the reſentments I bear in my mind of that humble and tender entertainment thou gaveſt us at thy court: the Lord JESUS reward thee: and ſurely he hath a bleſſing in ſtore for thee. Go on, be ſtedfaſt, *overcome*, and thou ſhalt *inherit*. Do not deſpond: one that is mighty is near thee; a preſent help in the needful time of trouble. O let the deſire of thy ſoul be to his name, and to the remembrance of him. O wait upon the Lord, and thou ſhalt renew thy ſtrength! The youth ſhall faint, and the young men ſhall fail, but they that truſt in the Lord ſhall never be confounded.

I wiſh thee all true and ſolid felicity, with my whole ſoul. The Lord God of heaven and earth have thee in his keeping, that thou mayeſt not loſe, but keep in that divine ſenſe, which, by his eternal word, he hath begotten in thee. Receive, dear princeſs, my ſincere and Chriſtian ſalutation. Grace, mercy, and peace be multiplied among you all that love the Lord JESUS.

* She died about four years after.

Thy

Thy buſineſs I ſhall follow, with all the diligence and diſcretion I can, and by the firſt give thee an account, after it ſhall pleaſe the Lord to bring me ſafe to London. All my brethren are well, and preſent thee with their dear love, and the reſt with thee that love JESUS, the light of the world, in thy family. Thou haſt taught me to forget thou art a *princeſs*, and therefore I uſe this freedom; and to that of God in thee am I manifeſt; and I know my integrity. Give, if thou pleaſeſt, the ſalutation of my dear love to A. M. de Hornes, with the incloſed. Dear princeſs, do not hinder, but help her: that may be required of her, which (conſidering thy circumſtances) may not yet be required of thee. Let her ſtand *free*, and her freedom will make the paſſage eaſier unto thee. Accept what I ſay, I intreat thee, in that pure and heavenly love and reſpect in which I write ſo plainly to thee. Farewel, my dear friend, and the Lord be with thee. I am, more than I can ſay,

Thy great lover and reſpectful friend,

WILLIAM PENN.

I refer thee to the incloſed for paſſages: we viſited Giftall and Hooftman, and they us: they were at one or two of the meetings at Amſterdam. *Vale in æternum.*

For ANNA MARIA DE HORNES, ſtiled Counteſs of HORNES.

Jeſus be with thy ſpirit. Amen.

BEloved, and much eſteemed for the ſake of that love which is raiſed in thy heart to the eternal truth of God; the increaſe of which I earneſtly deſire; that thou mayeſt be more than conqueror, through the powerful workings of that divine love in thy ſoul, which

which caſteth out all falſe fear, and overcometh the world. In this eternal love it is that I love thee, and would be loved of thee: bleſſed are they that hold their fellowſhip in it. It is pure, harmleſs, patient, fervent, and conſtant: in fine, it cometh from God, and leadeth all that receive it to God. Indeed it *is* God, and they that live in *love*, live in *God*. If we keep and abide in him that hath viſited us, we ſhall always feel his love as a fountain; and wonderful are the effects of it. 'O it can lay down its life for its 'friend!' It will break through all difficulty, and hath power to conquer death and the grave: this tranſcendeth the friendſhip of the world, and the vain-glorious honour of the courts of this world. This kindneſs is inviolable: our pureſt faith worketh by this love. O the tenderneſs of that ſoul in which this love liveth and hath place! the humility and compaſſion that always keep it company!

And who can livelily enough deſcribe the lovely image it giveth, the attracting and engaging converſation it hath: but it is diſcerned, and greatly valued, by the children of love, who are born of it, which all the children of *light* are. What ſhall I ſay? It is the great command, and it keepeth all the commands; love, pure and undefiled, it fulfilleth the law and goſpel too: bleſſed are they that feel any of this love ſhed abroad in their hearts.

With this love it is that God hath loved us; and by the power of this love Chriſt Jeſus hath died for us. Yea, it is this love that quickeneth us to Jeſus, that inflameth our ſouls with pure and ardent love to him, and zeal for him: yea, it is this holy love, that forſakes father and mother, ſiſter and brother, huſband, wife, and children, houſe and land, liberty and life, for the ſake of Jeſus: that leaveth the dead to bury the dead, and followeth Jeſus in the narrow way of regeneration: that can truſt him in the winds, and in the earthquakes, in the fire, and in the waters; yea, when the floods come in, even unto the ſoul, this deſpondeth not, neither murmureth.

And

And as it cannot deſpair, ſo it never preſumeth: yea, it can triumphantly ſay, What ſhall be able to ſeparate me from the love of God that is in Chriſt Jeſus? Shall principalities or powers? Things preſent, or things to come? Shall life or death? O no, neither time nor mortality.

My dear friend, let this noble plant of paradiſe grow in thy heart. Wait upon the Lord, that he would water it, and ſhine upon it, and make an hedge about it; that thy whole heart may be repleniſhed with the heavenly increaſe and fruits of it. O that thou mayeſt grow, in thy inner man, in wiſdom, ſtrength, and a pure underſtanding; in favour with God, and with all people that are in the ſame nature and image! For the world only loveth its own.

I hoped not to have been ſo quick upon my laſt long letter; but God's pure love (that hath redeemed me from the earth, and the earthly nature and ſpirit) moved fervently upon my ſpirit to viſit thee once more, before I leave this land. I deferred it to this extremity; and being not clear to go hence, I ſend thee my Chriſtian ſalutation, in this pure love that many waters cannot quench, diſtance cannot make it forget, nor can time wear it out. My ſoul reverently boweth before the God and Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that it would pleaſe him to preſerve thee. Fear him, and thou needeſt not fear, for the angel of the Lord encampeth about thoſe that truſt in his name. The angel of his eternal preſence guard thee, that none of the enemies of thy ſoul's peace may ever prevail againſt thee! Perſeverance and victory be thy portion in this world, and a crown of endleſs glory be thy reward in that which is to come. Amen.

Since my laſt (being the day next after the date thereof) we had a meeting with Galenus Abrahams and his company: the ſucceſs thou mayeſt perhaps ſee ſuddenly in print, and therefore I ſhall defer the narrative: only, in general, our dear Lord, our ſtaff and ſtrength, was with us, and truth reigned over all.

That

That night we went to Leyden, where we viſited ſome retired perſons.

Thence, next day, to the Hague, where alſo we had a little meeting. O the luſt and pride of that place! Thou cameſt into my mind as I walked in the ſtreets, and I ſaid in myſelf, 'Well! ſhe hath choſen 'the better part.' O be faithful, and the Lord will give thee an eternal recompence!

Thence we came to Rotterdam, where the Lord hath given us ſeveral heavenly opportunities in private and publick.

We are now come to the Briel, and wait our paſſage. The Lord Jeſus be with you that ſtay, and with us that go, that in him we may live and abide for ever.

Salute me to my French friend; bid her be conſtant. I wiſh thy ſervants felicity; but *thine* as mine own. God Almighty overſhadow thee, hide thee under his pavilion, be thy ſhield, rock, and ſanctuary for ever. Farewel, farewel.

Thy friend, and the Lord's ſervant,

W. P.

Briel, $\frac{20}{30}$ 8th month,
1677.

Next morning[p] the packet-boat arrived, and about ten we went on board, having firſt taken our ſolemn leave of thoſe friends that accompanied us thither.

We immediately ſet ſail, with a great number of paſſengers: but, by reaſon of contrary and tempeſtuous weather, we arrived not at Harwich till the third day about the 7th hour.[q] Whence, next morning,[r] I writ this following ſalutation and account to the friends of Holland and Germany, to return with the boat.

[p] 21. 8. 1. [q] 22. 8. 2. 23. 8. 3. [r] 24. 8. 4.

A let-

A letter from Harwich, to friends in Holland and Germany, containing the paſſages from Holland to England.

Let this be ſent to the friends in High and Low-Dutch-Land.

O My ſoul magnifieth the Lord, and my ſpirit rejoiceth in God my Saviour, who hath rebuked the winds and the ſeas, and made us to drink of his ſalvation upon the great deeps! yea, we could not but praiſe him in the tempeſt, for all things are full of his majeſty. Bleſſed is the eye that ſeeth, and the heart that dependeth upon him at all times. There is not another God; he is the *Lord* alone that the holy ancients truſted in, and were not confounded. What ſhall my ſoul render unto the Lord? We are full of his mercy, he hath made us witneſſes of his care. We can ſay, in righteouſneſs, they are bleſſed whoſe God is the Lord, and that ſerve all the day long no other maſter than our God.

Friends, this is an endeared ſalutation to you all in High and Low-Dutch-Land, in the deep and freſh ſenſe of the Lord's preſerving power. O that you may abide in that ſenſe of him which he hath begotten in you, and in the reverent knowledge of him, according to the manifeſtation which you have received of him, in the light of his dear Son: that you may be faithful, and fervent for the Lord; that his glorious life and power may break through you; and theſe lands, long, dry, and barren as the wilderneſs, may ſpring and bloſſom as the roſe. For what have we to do here, but to exalt him, that hath viſited and loved us; yea, ſaved us in great meaſure? Ah, he is worthy! my ſpirit reverenceth him, my heart and ſoul do bow before him: eternal bleſſings dwell for ever with him.

Dear friends, my love floweth to you as a fountain. God, even my God, and your God, hath made you dear

dear to me; yea, dearer than all natural kindred. You are fleſh of fleſh indeed. Nor ſea, nor land, nor time, nor place, can ever ſeparate our joy, divide our communion, or wipe out the remembrance that I have of you. Yea, the living remembrance that my God often giveth me of you, in the life of his Son, abideth; which breaketh my heart to pieces: and I can ſay, I left much of my heart behind me; and the Lord only could have outwardly ſeparated me ſo ſoon from you. O this love! that is ſtronger than death, more excellent than the love of women; for it endureth for ever: this privilege have all the ſaints. Jeſus, the light of the world, that ſaveth from the world, be with you. Amen.

We got well laſt night about ſeven to Harwich, being three days and two nights at ſea: moſt part of the time was a great ſtorm of wind, and rain, and hail: the weather was againſt us, and the veſſel ſo leaky, that two pumps went night and day, or we had periſhed. It is believed that they pumped twice more water out than the veſſel could contain; but our peace was as a river, and our joy full. The ſeas had like to have waſhed ſome of the ſeamen over-board, but the great God preſerved all well. Frights were among the people, and deſpondencies in ſome, but the Lord wrought deliverance for all: we were mightily thronged, which made it the more troubleſome.

But it is obſervable, that though the Lord ſo wonderfully delivered us, yet ſome vain people ſoon forgot it, and returned quickly to their wanton talk and converſation, not abiding in the ſenſe of that hand which had delivered them: nor can any do it, as they ſhould, but thoſe that are turned to his appearance in their hearts, who know him to be a God "nigh at hand;" which, O! may it be your experience and portion for ever!

And the Lord be with you, and refreſh and ſuſtain you; and in all your temptations never leave you, nor forſake you; that conquerors you may be, and, in the

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the end of days and time, ſtand in your lot among the ſpirits of the juſt made perfect. Amen, Amen.

Yours in that which is eternal,

W. P.

Harwich, 24th of the 8th month, 1677.

Here I left dear G. Fox, and Gertruyd Diricks and her children, that came over with us, to follow me in a coach; but I, having a deſire to be that day[s] at Colcheſter meeting, went early away on horſeback, G. K. accompanying me. We got to the meeting, and were well refreſhed in friends.

That evening we had a mighty meeting at J. Furley's houſe, where we lay; many being there of the town, that would not come to a publick meeting. And indeed the Lord's divine power and preſence were in the aſſembly.

Next day[t] we had a great meeting at a marriage, where we had good ſervice for the Lord. That afternoon about four, we took horſe for London, G. F. &c. through miſcarriage of a letter about the coach, not being come to Colcheſter. That night we lay at J. Raven's, eight miles on our way. There we met Giles Barnardiſton, and William Bennet; with whom, and ſome other friends thereabout, we were comforted in the life and power of the Lord.

The day following[u] we took our journey for London: we came there in good time that evening; where I found all things relating to friends in a good condition: bleſſed be the name of the Lord. I ſtayed about a week in town, both to viſit friends at meetings, and to be ſerviceable to the more general affairs of truth; where a ſecond letter from the princeſs Elizabeth came to hand.

[s] 25. 8. 5. [t] 26. 8. 6. [u] 27. 8. 7.

Hertford,

Hertford, the 29th of October, 1677.

Dear friend,

YOUR tender care of my eternal well-being doth oblige me much, and I will weigh every article of your counſel to follow as much as lies in me; but God's grace muſt be aſſiſtant; as you ſay yourſelf, 'He accepts nothing that does not come from him:' If I had made me bare of all worldly goods, and left undone what he requires moſt, I mean, to do all in and by his Son, I ſhall be in no better condition than at this preſent. Let me feel him firſt governing in my heart, then do what he requires of me: but I am not able to teach others, being not "taught of God "myſelf." Remember my love to G. F. B. F. G. K. and dear Gertruyd. If you write no worſe than your poſtſcript, I can make a ſhift to read it. Do not think I go from what I ſpoke to you the laſt evening; I only ſtay to do it in a way that is anſwerable before God and man. I can ſay no more now, but recommend to your prayers,

Your true friend,

ELIZABETH.

I almoſt forgot to tell you, that my ſiſter writes me word, ſhe had been glad you had taken your journey by Oſenburg to return to Amſterdam: there is alſo a droſſard of Limburgh near this place (to whom I gave an Exemplar of R. B.'s Apology) very deſirous to ſpeak with ſome of the friends.

The fifth day of the next week[x] I went to Worminghurſt, my houſe in Suſſex, where I found my dear wife, child, and family all well: bleſſed be the name of

[x] 1. 9. 5.

the Lord God of all the families of the earth. I had that evening a ſweet meeting amongſt them, in which God's bleſſed power made us truly glad together: and I can ſay, truly bleſſed are they who can chearfully give up to ſerve the Lord: great ſhall be the increaſe and growth of their treaſure, which ſhall never end.

To *him* that *was*, and *is*, and *is to come*, the eternal, holy, bleſſed, righteous, powerful, and faithful ONE, be glory, honour, and praiſe, dominion, and a kingdom, for ever and ever. Amen.

A third letter from the princeſs, which though it be after the cloſing of this journal, yet being an anſwer to one writ to her in Holland, relates to it.

This 17th of November, 1677.

Dear friend,

I Have received a letter from you, that ſeemeth to have been written at your paſſage into England; which I wiſh may be proſperous; without date, but not withont virtue, to ſpur me on, to do and ſuffer the will of our God. I can ſay, in ſincerity and truth, "Thy will be done, O God," becauſe *I wiſh it heartily*; but I cannot ſpeak in righteouſneſs, until I *poſſeſs* that righteouſneſs which is acceptable unto him. My houſe and my heart ſhall be always open to thoſe that love him. Gichtell has been well ſatisfied with the conferences between you. As for my buſineſs, it will go as the Lord pleaſeth; and I remain in him,

Your affectionate friend,

ELIZABETH.

There are more of this nature from her, and divers other perſons of eminence in thoſe parts, but not immediately relating to the journal, are therefore not publiſhed.

WILLIAM PENN.

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM

END OF VOL. III.